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INTERNATIONAL

ERNST GENRI ON THREAT OF CHINESE RACIST POLICIES

Moscow ZNAMYA in Russian No 12, 1979 pp 222-233

[Article by Ernst Genri: "Beijing's Hidden Ideas"]

[Text] The Chinese leaders up to now call themselves Marxists and communists. In the capitalist world there still are people--especially among the immature, extremist youth--who believe them, considering Maoism some kind of current or wing of Marxism. Meanwhile there can be no talk of anything like this at all. Affirmations of this type on the part of Beijing figures are only a smokescreen. In fact in the policy of Maoism--it goes without saying that we are not talking about the honest rank-and-file Chinese communists, remaining faithful to the ideas of the revolutionary workers' movement--showing more and more clearly are the traits of a completely different, secret ideology, an ideology directly opposite to Marxism.

From the historian's viewpoint, looking ahead, it is not excluded that in time this topic may acquire especial significance. But life even now is putting it on the agenda. A number of unquestionable facts point directly to the presence of a hidden Maoist ideology.

"Asian Mission"

In recent years many, undoubtedly, have been struck by the fact that the Maoists, whenever they can, speak not only on behalf of themselves, but seemingly on behalf of "all Asia." China is depicted as a power which is historically destined for some kind of "unifying" mission in this part of the world. Maoist leaders have spoken of this even when they were conducting official negotiations. Back in 1962 the Japanese bourgeois politician K. Matsumura, welcomed to Peking by Zhou Enlai, reported after meeting with him: "At numerous talks with us Premier Zhou Enlai and his deputy Chen-Yi declared that as before Asia will remain Asia and that namely the Asians must change the history of the world. We must in the closest interaction strengthen the bonds based on cultural intercourse and racial unity" (*italics mine, E.G.*).

No refutation of any kind followed this remarkable communication. On the contrary, from that time on the statements of the Maoists in the pan-Asian spirit began to be persistently repeated. Speaking in February 1964 in the Pakistani city of Lahore, Chen-Yi declared: "Asia belongs to the Asians." "Great China," wrote RENMIN RIBAO in September 1969, "stands at full gigantic height in the eastern part of the world." "The wind from the east is overpowering the wind from the west," declared Mao Zedong himself back in 18 November 1957. The East directly and openly has set itself off and is still setting itself off against the West. In the 70's in Beijing, despite the threatening aggression against Vietnam, they speak at full cry about the "racial closeness of Asian peoples" and the "community" of their "historic destinies and missions."

It is made clear that Beijing is the "center of gravity" of all Asia and its mouthpiece in world politics, that the PRC bears on itself the "responsibility for the fate of the peoples" of this part of the world. At the conferences of the Organization of Afro-Asian Solidarity the Chinese delegates spoke out for "unity" of the peoples of the two continents, but demanded the exclusion from their commonwealth of the Soviet Union as a "non-Asian" and "white" country.

In other words, China and Asia are identified together, but in fact only China is granted the right to speak on behalf of the Asians. And this is despite the fact that falling to the PRC is only less than one-fourth of the territory of Asia and that over 1.5 billion people in Asia live outside the borders of China.

Pan-Asianism, with a distinctive Chinese tint, has become in this way, in fact, although unofficially, a motto of the Maoists. Of course, propaganda of this type is intended to serve also the specific hegemonistic plans of Beijing in various regions of Asia. But this only confirms that the policy of the Maoists comes out of lines close to racism.

Socialism has never divided humanity into "white" and "colored" races: until the Maoists this was engaged in only by the imperialists and proponents of extreme nationalistic theories in the camp of the bourgeoisie. This is why in the searches for historical authorities for his ideology Mao Zedong turned to such figures as the medieval Asian conqueror Genghis Khan. Namely this leader of the hordes which devastated whole countries in Asia and in Europe was openly idealized under the "great helmsman" as a "unifier of Asia" and, what is implied, as the forerunner of the Maoists. In addition he was arbitrarily changed from a Mongol into a Chinese.

We are not exaggerating anything. RENMIN RIBAO has called Genghis Khan a person "who played a progressive role in the history of China as a whole." "And another forty states," the journal LISHI YANJIU added significantly. Which ones? When some time ago in China the sensational "Map of China in the Period of its Greatest Power" was published, it turned out that included in the boundaries of China were almost all of Asia and

a large part of Europe--namely those countries which were invaded six or seven centuries ago by the hordes of Genghis Khan and his sons and grandsons Ugedai, Batu, Kublai and others. Their conquests are regarded as the historical heritage of China. Maoist historian Huan Zhulin directly mentioned as Genghis Khan's main merit that he "eliminated all the borders between the states from the Pacific Ocean on the east to the Caspian Sea on the west," in other words he created a pan-Asian empire. How are such ideas distinguished from racism?

There are other examples of this kind of thinking in the Beijing upper strata. Speaking with a correspondent about the war between Japan and czarist Russia in 1904-1905 and recalling a song which glorified the victory of Japan, Mao Zedong said: "Even now I remember certain fascinating words of this song... At that time I knew and felt the beauty of Japan and shared its pride and might, celebrated in this song, devoted to the victory over Russia."

Such a thing could be said only by a person who looked at things not from a class point of view, but from a racial point of view. It is no secret that the present Maoist diplomacy, striving to enter into an agreement with the Japanese revanchists and pull Japan into its own orbit is constantly talking in this same language.

Policy of Sinification

Is it possible, however, to consider that when preaching pan-Asianism, the Maoists really include in the circle of this concept all Asians or even peoples of the Mongolian race?

Such a supposition would be a big mistake. The racism of the Maoists in fact is not Asian and is not Mongolian, but basically Great Hanian, that is, purely Chinese. They are dreaming now in Beijing only about the eminence of China itself, of its hegemony over all Asia, and not only over Asia.

This is graphically confirmed by the fact that it has already been happening for years in the PRC itself. In process is an uninterrupted, systematic Sinification of the national minorities, these same Asians. The non-Chinese in the PRC--Uighurs, Mongols, Tibetans, Zhuang and others--according to recent estimates come to 50 million. All these nationalities have their own culture of many centuries, others have had their own statehood for centuries. Now attempts are being made to gradually take away their national personality, although recently this has been carefully hidden.

Sinification is being conducted in the most ruthless way, by all conceivable means. The officially existing autonomy of the territories of national minorities in fact has been reduced to nothing. They are doing what they want with the people. In some cases in autonomous regions of non-Chinese nationalities they are establishing such a large number of

Chinese as to give them numerical superiority. Thus, even by the beginning of the seventies 7 million Chinese were resettled in Xinjiang, where 5 million Uighurs live. At the same time, non-Chinese are resettling in Chinese regions, where they are spread out. On the territory of "autonomous" Inner Mongolia until recently there were about 400,000 Mongols while there were over 6 million Chinese.

Moreover, during the "cultural revolution" persons of non-Chinese nationality were subjected to direct coercion. Their language was artificially Sinified. Their daughters were forced to marry Chinese, who became the head of the families and raised the children as Chinese. Officials of local cadres were subject to repression and replaced with Chinese. In border regions mass repressions even recently practically took the form of genocide. All of this was done according to a fixed plan, year after year. In relations with non-Chinese this rule operated: "Grab them by the forelock, and from time to time give them a fillip on the nose." Now such words again are not in vogue. But the intentions in fact are the same.

It can be said: all this is great-power nationalism. Undoubtedly. But this is that kind of nationalism which turns into manifest racism. The destruction of national minorities has always been a typical characteristic of a racist form of actions. It is completely obvious, in any case, that the domestic policy of the Maoists is aimed at the same thing as the foreign policy: their pan-Asianism in fact is reduced to Sinification.

In the past, Great Han racism was inherent to the Chinese feudal lords and was inherited from them by the Chinese bourgeoisie. One of its ideologists declared: "Our Chinese race, there is no doubt, can create an ideal state and exceed five continents... We, the Chinese, possess the force in order to be in fact the masters of the world."

The Chinese nationalist, monarchist poet Kang You-Wei, wrote:

We have four or five hundred million people
From whom we can recruit ten million soldiers.
We have inexhaustible reserves of iron and metals,
From these we can build thousands of warships.
And then we go across five continents,
On which you will see how the flags of the yellow dragon
flutter and dance.

Mao Zedong did not talk about the yellow dragon. But he said that China "should become the first country in the world." He considered himself the creator of an "Asian form of Marxism." Very recently one of the Beijing leaders declared that "the 21st century will be a Chinese century."

This, however, is still far from all of it. False pan-Asianism is only one side of Maoist racism. Revealing itself just as clearly in our time is another side of the same coin--anti-Europeanism. Although the present Beijing leaders,

based on their military-political and economic aspirations, are flirting in every way with the European countries of NATO, the whole policy of these Great Han racists in reality and in the future is permeated with an anti-European spirit.

And this is not surprising. One is inseparable from the other.

But while pan-Asianism is preached by the Maoists openly, for all to hear, their anti-European sentiments are carefully obscured. In Beijing they do not talk about this. Deng Xiaoping cannot play a game at the table of international politics and disclose his cards. Nevertheless, namely the very policy of the Maoists, just as their theoretical utterances, reveals what we are talking about. Things have their own logic.

"Who Will Perish?"

The plans of the Beijing strategists scarcely concern Asia alone. The opinion often expressed in the West that the spearhead of Maoism is directed only against the Soviet Union and that the whole matter is in the Chinese claims on the Soviet territories in Asia is deeply erroneous.

The central political idea of the Maoists in the last decades, on which they are building their long-term calculations, is known to all. The idea is that the third world war not only is inevitable, but even desirable. It is impossible to forget the speech by Mao Zedong at the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Worker Parties in November 1957, when he said openly that he does not see anything terrible in the possibility of destroying half of humanity in such a war. These were frightful words. But what did they signify, if we speak concretely? Where would the main theater of military actions be located if they were unleashed by imperialism together with China? What "half of humanity" would be condemned to destruction?

Mao Zedong did not say anything about this either at the Conference in Moscow in 1957, nor after that. In the meantime, this is a very important, even a key question for an understanding of the "grand policy" of Beijing.

It is not difficult to answer.

The Maoists have such an indifferent attitude toward the fate of "half of humanity" because they would like the third world war to unfold mainly on two continents--in Europe and America. True, they are also fully prepared to sacrifice several hundred million Asians, for instance Vietnamese and Indians. This is shown even by that genocide which has very recently been carried out in Kampuchea under the action of the Maoists. Most important for them still is the possibility of destruction of European-American "white" civilization. Everything points to this, and many of their calculations are based on this.

It is possible to be horrified, and not to believe. But the facts are striking.

When one prominent English communist began to prove to the Chinese leaders that a third world war threatens a comparatively small part of the English people with general annihilation, he was answered: "But where does it say that the world socialist society must be built with Englishmen?"

In the information bulletin of the Beijing Xinhua Telegraph Agency dated 5 June 1967 it says to the English--after a reminder about their anti-Chinese policy in the past: "Up to now we still have not settled these accounts with you... If you do not bow your heads and do not acknowledge your offences, you will have to feel for yourself what the iron fist of the Chinese nation is like."

But the xenophobia of the Maoists with respect to the Europeans is scarcely directed just against the capitalist countries which in fact in the past were guilty of criminal acts against China. In connection with the same pronouncement by Mao Zedong with respect to the destruction of half of humanity one prominent figure in the Czechoslovak Communist Party asked the Maoists: "If all the 15 million inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are destroyed, who then will build socialism in my homeland?" The answer was: "It is necessary to be able to sacrifice the small for the sake of the big."

In one of the statements of the Politburo of the German Communist Party it was stated: "Representatives of our party back in 1960 at the Conference of Communist and Worker parties in Moscow declared to the Chinese comrades that an atomic war would mean a national catastrophe for our working class, for our people..."

There were other telling utterances in the same spirit. The European communists cannot help but think about the vital interests of their people. But before this there were no dealings with the Maoists, and their policy is not changing. At the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1974 Zhou Enlai stated literally in his opening report that "the colossal shocks on the earth... are a good thing for the people, and not a bad thing." This in essence was a repetition of what Mao Zedong said in 1957. The phraseology of the Beijing leaders since that time has changed somewhat. But the essence remains:

"Either the wind from the east will prevail over the wind from the west, or the wind from the west will prevail over the wind from the east. Here there cannot be any talk about some kind of equality." This was said in a public statement of the Central Committee of the Maoist party on 16 May 1966--at the time when in Beijing they still had not openly made up to NATO and the United States. No equality whatever between Europe and China! "Europe is backward and Asia is advanced," declared Mao Zedong at a conference in Chengdu on 5 March 1958.

It is a matter, consequently, not just of the enmity of the Maoists toward the Soviet Union. It is a matter of their attitude toward the countries of all of Europe, as well as America. Certainly it is clear that in case of an atomic war the deadly hurricane will come down first of all on the continents with the most highly developed economy and the most numerous working class.

Mao Zedong was hardly bothered that not only the monopolistic bourgeoisie was in jeopardy. He understood very well that falling in this zone of fire would be such front-ranking detachments of the proletariat in the capitalist world as the working class of Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, England, the FRG and other countries--those where the worker's movement was first born. From his standpoint, all these would have been "small sacrifices." Is it possible to call such a position anything beside anti-European?

You ask: what about China? Certainly it is fully probable that in case of a worldwide thermonuclear war even it will not escape the common lot.

For a long time it has not been a secret that the aim of Maoist foreign policy is to have other powers clash among themselves, and for it to somehow to remain on the sidelines. But let us assume even that the matter will turn out differently. Let us remember what Mao Zedong said in a conversation with the American journalist Edgar Snow, who he often used as a mouthpiece (the text of this conversation was approved for publication by the "helmsman" himself): "Other nations may be fully destroyed as a result of atomic war, but several hundred million will remain in China who will be able to start from nothing."

Count on this. It is expected that mainly only the "white" countries will perish.

Are such ideas far from racism?

But even this is not all.

"We Will Not Forget Even 10,000 Years From Now!"

As is known, for a long time the Maoists have advanced the idea of "surrounding the world city with the countryside" as of paramount importance in their so-called "revolutionary strategy" in the area of the fight against international capitalism.

It has been affirmed that supposedly in our time the revolutionary initiative has gone from the working class of the West which has "become bourgeois" to the rebellious poverty-ridden peasantry of Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to the same conception, the armies of the rebelling peasants of these three continents should have unfolded broad

partisan operations, besieged the "cities"--that is, the industrially developed countries, and ultimately crushed capitalism.

It goes without saying, there was nothing new in this theory. Even in the past century such ideas were advanced by anarchists and groups close to them. In Russia their proponents were Bakunin and Nechayev. But why have such theories quite recently been taken up by the Maoists (now in the PRC they are diligently keeping mum about these)?

What in the contemporary international situation would signify an "attack of the countryside on the world city?" Have not the bearers of this idea imagined something like the marches of the Genghis Khan hordes on the west?

This at least was the way the manifesto against the "world city" was perceived by the strata in China stupefied by the Maoist propaganda, especially the immature, easily excitable youth. In one of the "da zi bao" [big character poster] leaflets addressed to the Soviet people, which was hung near the embassy of the USSR in Beijing during the days of the "cultural revolution," it said: "All old and new hatred has come into our hearts. We will not forget about it even after 100 or after 1,000 or after 10,000 years. We will take vengeance without fail. Now we are not taking vengeance only because the time of revenge has not yet arrived."

In other "da zi bao" it was announced that the hong wei bing [red guards] have to play a "world role." In one it said: "We, the hong wei bing, have to put on this spectacle not only on the stage of our own country, but also on the international stage, which we must get on..." During the same days it was published in RENMIN RIBAO: "Young hong wei bing will break the whole old world into pieces."

So they were taught and so they are taught in hiding to this day--despite the disappearance of the hong wei bing from the scene. The Chinese youth who tomorrow will be taking the helm of China. They are taught not only hatred toward the Soviet Union, but also hatred toward the "world city," this is, first of all toward Asia's neighboring Europe.

In addition they are taught with especial fervor hatred toward the European worker's movement. The Maoist press is occupied with this all the time. But such hatred is explained not simply by the gross lack of understanding of problems of the European worker's movement that is characteristic for the Maoists. Its deeply hidden sources are in the racist views inherited from the Chinese feudal lords and the Chinese bourgeoisie.

The same views are reflected in the attitude of the Maoists toward European culture, toward European art. The whole world was shaken after finding out in the sixties that censured "for all time" in the PRC were such writers as Shakespeare, Lev Tolstoy, Balzac, Gor'kiy, such poets as Homer, Dante, Heine, such composers as Beethoven, Mozart, Chaikovskiy, Shostakovich, and such artists as Leonardo da Vinci, Rembrandt, Picasso. (True, discredited no less grossly were a number of outstanding Chinese writers and art

personalities from the past.) It was impossible to explain this by artistic or social ideas. Who, except for inveterate, although camouflaged, racists can hate Shakespeare and Beethoven? It is necessary to say that lately in Beijing, toying with the West, they are newly "dressing up" the attitude toward the classics. But what was brought to light under Mao Zedong will not be restored.

Asia possesses its own great culture. Everyone in the world knows this. But this does not explain why the Maoists have heaped gross insults on the culture of Europe. Here there are no kind of "ideological" reasons at all.

"Asian Form of Marxism"

Beijing politicians declare that Mao Zedong has "transformed Marxism from its European into an Asian form." This has been written about now in China in all newspapers for years, it is said in all speeches, shouted on all streets. The Maoists see namely in the "Sinification of Marxism" the greatest merit of their "great helmsman." It is pointed out that the "European form of Marxism" presents an alien "foreign pattern" for China. It is implied that having Sinified Marxism, Mao Zedong surpassed Marx himself and Lenin himself.

It is true that the theories of Mao do not have anything in common with Marxism. But, undoubtedly, it is possible to call them a mixture of petty bourgeois concepts and pseudo-Marxist phraseology with racism. The preaching of China's "Asian mission," the calculations on the destruction of Europe and America in the course of a third world war, the hatred toward the European worker's movement and for European culture, glorification of Genghis Khan, the slogan of "surrounding the world city with the countryside"--all this is interconnected and has one root.

The question arises: how could so many people in China believe the falsified, "Marxism" of Mao Zedong, contaminated by ultranationalistic and racist ideas? He answered this question himself. In the summer of 1958, half a year after the Conference of Representatives of Communist and Worker Parties in Moscow, at which he spoke with such indifference about the probability of the destruction of "half of humanity," Mao Zedong declared: "An obvious feature of the Chinese nation of 600 million, besides other features, is its poverty and that it represents itself as a sheet of clean paper. On first glance this is bad, in fact it is good... There is nothing at all on the sheet of clean paper, it is possible to write on this very new, very beautiful words, it is possible to draw very new, very beautiful pictures."

Mao Zedong was not a bit ashamed to insult the Chinese people with these words. He considered and his retinue considers now (although they will not dare to speak in this way) that they can do with their nation anything they want, they can impose on it any ideology and policy necessary.

This is the way that nationalists and racists always think, until history refutes them. The main thing, of course, is not in the "sheet of clean paper." The anti-Europeanism of the Maoists is finding supporters among the Chinese primarily because the justified rage caused by the many years of dominance of the European and American imperialists on their land still has not cooled in the hearts of the people. The Maoists are using this, and this also must be taken into account.

But the roots of racism among the Maoists themselves, who at one time belonged to the world communist movement, are different and are hidden much more deeply. It is worth talking about this too.

The Idea of Sinocentrism

How could people, calling themselves communists, become adherents of an ideology like racism, so diametrically opposed to Marxism?

An understanding of this is important not only to historians, but to every person today. The problem of Maoism in our time concerns everyone.

The Maoists teach their adherents that the whole fate of modern humanity--and thereby also the world strategy of the revolutionary forces--revolves around China, and only around China. All the rest of the revolutionary forces operating beyond the borders of China should supposedly be considered only auxiliary, subsidiary screws in the main Chinese machine.

"China at the present time has become the political center of the world, but it must become the military and technical center of the world," declared Mao Zedong once. His nearest assistant added: "As a result of the next 25 years... we will be able to work in such a way that a new world will arise before us." A new world with the center in China!

From where are such ideas born? Is it a matter once again just of fanatical nationalism, taken to the extreme?

Mao Zedong was not the one who invented the idea of the revolution of the political axis of the world around China. The head of the Maoists borrowed it from the most reactionary forces in the history of his own country. This idea is many hundreds of years old. Its creators were the Chinese emperors of the middle ages.

According to their ideas, China was the political and cultural center of the world, which is why the Chinese empire was called by them the "middle" or "heavenly." The Chinese were regarded as people of a chosen, higher race, the rest of the people were regarded as barbarians, obliged to remain the eternal vassals and people paying tribute to China.

From here, over centuries, the foreign policy of the Chinese feudal lords was developed. It was considered that not any other state could dispute the "right" of China to world hegemony. Even back in the 17th century the Chinese Emperors demanded that foreign ambassadors to Beijing perform

the "kowitz" ceremony: standing before them three times on their knees and, prostrating themselves on the ground, beat their foreheads on the floor. Neighboring peoples were suppressed, absorbed and even destroyed. The "heavenly empire" did not acknowledge that it had any equals.

Once in the far past the emergence of Sinocentrism was understandable to a certain degree. The material and spiritual culture of ancient China was quite highly developed. The Chinese early possessed the art of printing, put paper money into circulation, set up postal stations, made articles out of metal and accomplished many other things. Chinese literature and art were successful.

But all this came to an end. When in the 19th century Western imperialists burst into China and began to direct its fate, the idea of Sinocentrism, it seemed, was buried. It required the appearance of Mao Zedong and his groups on the political scene in order for it to be resurrected in a new version.

Li Lisan's Plan

In June 1930 the politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, headed then by left-sectarian personalities from the group under Li Lisan, passed a decision about a transition to a new policy. Made the basis of the decision was the thesis that China had become the new center of world revolution and that its fate from now on is to be decided in East Asia. Li Lisan's specific idea was that with the aid of adventurist putsch 'tions there would be an uprising in Kuomintang China and Japan-occupied Manchuria, an attack by Japan on the Soviet Union would be provoked and in this way a great war would be unleashed.

This part of the plan was concealed from the Comintern. Subsequently Li Lisan confirmed that in the course of implementing his adventure he considered it possible even to "sacrifice the Soviet Union."

Li Lisan's idea was not implemented. He was decisively opposed by internationalists in the Chinese Communist Party headed by one of its founders, Qu Quibo, and by others, and the same position was held by the Comintern after finding out about everything. But the active opponent to Li Lisan turned out to be none other than Mao Zedong, who at that time still did not occupy a post of leadership in the party.

A quarter of a century later, at the 8th congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1956, the same Li Lisan made a laudatory speech in honor of Mao Zedong. Probably he knew that the plan to hurl the world into the fire of a great war and attempt on the basis of its ruins to make China the leader of the world would be followed now by the "Great helmsman" himself.

The world of the second half of the 20th century did not resemble in any one of its parts the world in which the emperors operated at one time. But the policy inspired by them was again taken up by Mao Zedong, as if during this time nothing had happened, nothing had changed.

There is no doubt that from the very beginning Mao Zedong was a Sino-centrist and an anti-internationalist. This is proven by a great number of documents on the history of the Chinese Communist Party. It is known, for instance, that he held such views even before the adventure of Li Lisan in 1930-1931. In 1923, when Mao Zedong had just begun his political career and was first elected to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, he had already come out in favor of having Soviet Russia render support to the military actions of the forces within China and thus be drawn into a dangerous armed conflict with the imperialists.

After becoming a leader of the Chinese Communist Party in 1935, Mao himself began to try to bring to life Li Lisan's idea of "shifting the center of world revolution" to China. The German communist Otto Braun, who was in China at that time as a military advisor to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, relates that more than once Mao attempted to cause a clash between the USSR and Japan and in 1941 sabotaged a proposal about the coordination of actions with the USSR in the case of an attack by Japan on the Soviet Far East. In a conversation with the American Edgar Snow back in 1936 Mao Zedong himself confirmed that he in fact counted on such an attack.

It must be considered that namely at that time Hitler's Germany and Japan negotiated about the signing of a so-called "anti-comintern pact," an agreement which outlined the creation of an aggressive alliance between them. In other words, Mao Zedong intended to place the Soviet Union under attack at that very moment when powerful anti-Soviet forces in Europe and Asia had begun to prepare for joint actions. The fate of the USSR was staked on a card--for the sake of what? For the sake of Mao Zedong being able to achieve his goals in China.

From here there are many other things in the views and actions of the founder of Maoism, for instance his admiration for those ancient emperors who considered the Chinese to be a chosen race, called upon to rule the world. As people who knew Mao Zedong personally recall, he did not hide his inspiration by emperors Qin Shihuang, Liu Bang and Kangxi, and also Genghis Khan, who at his instructions was made a "Chinese Emperor." Otto Braun relates that when in 1938 the imaginary coffin of Genghis Khan was carried across Shanxi province he himself saw how the Maoists summoned the residents of nearby population centers to bow on signal--a bow to the conqueror of many Asian countries and part of Europe.

There is no doubt that it is not only a matter of feudal heritage. It is just as clear that the social-racism of the Maoists is a direct reflection of their petty bourgeois class essence. Just as everywhere, the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie in China has nothing in common with the ideology of the revolutionary working class and in many ways sharply contradicts it. Mao Zedong, the son of a rural kulak who traded in rice, held petty bourgeois positions from the very beginning, although usually he masked them with pseudo-Marxist phrases. It is known, for instance, that even in the 20's he attempted to push the party to placing the main stake not on the

working class, but on the backward strata of the Chinese peasantry.¹ Having become head of the Communist Party of China in 1935, Mao Zedong then did everything to lead it along such a path.

This also had its consequences. Small property owners usually willingly profess chauvinistic and racist views, especially if a deceptive program of grandiose conquests abroad is unfolded before them. Pre-war Germany can serve as an example. In this way, there is nothing surprising or the more so incomprehensible in the appearance of racism on the modern Chinese scene. Maoism remains faithful to its antiproletarian class essence.

Of course, the honest Chinese communists, who have expressed the views of the working class and the Marxist intelligentsia of the country, have always been internationalists, decisively opposed to Sinocentrism and the petty bourgeois bias. What happened to such cadres is no secret. Hundreds of thousands of people were subjected to cruel repressions, the Maoist inquisitors did not spare anyone. According to the testimony of Otto Braun, the self-dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 untied Mao Zedong's hands for reprisals against those who thought differently in the party. With the aid of tortures and mass murders the idea of communism was finally replaced by the idea of Sinocentrism.

New Form of Racism

Let us ask again: what distinguishes the idea of Sinocentrism from racism?

Different versions of racism are known: German, "Aryan"-fascist, American-fascist, South African, "white." But is it possible in fact to speak about Chinese racism engendered by Mao Zedong? Obviously it is possible. The new thing in this version is not so much in the idea itself, as in its bearers.

As has already been said, modern Chinese racism does not come out in the open. The word "race" figures comparatively rarely in Maoist statements. As a rule, it is only in pan-Asian appeals from Beijing. But essentially this does not change anything. Racism remains the key to an understanding of Maoism. It should be remembered that in every region of the world, in every era and in every political situation this ideology takes on a special, unique form.

Hence we have such features of Maoism as the preaching of the "Asian mission," hidden anti-Europeanism, the dream of world hegemony, the cult of the "great helmsman," the faith in his "supernatural strength." It is said again that all this is similar to extreme nationalism, pushed to the limit. But, we repeat, at some stage extreme nationalism easily crosses over into racism: no essential ideological difference remains between one and the other.

This has happened also with the Maoists. Having announced China to be the focus of the world, and themselves to be the chief movers of world politics, they made such a transition. There is still no official Maoist theory of a superior "race of masters." But there are already affirmations that the "Asian form of Marxism" is superior to the European. Sino-centrism also can be considered a concrete form of Maoist racism.

When RENMIN RIBAO writes that "the history of the proletarian revolution... has made Beijing the center of the world revolution," when the highly-placed Maoist Yao Wenyuan during the life of the "helmsman" declares that the chief task of modern times is "to affirm the absolute authority of the ideas of Mao Zedong throughout the world," when in the same circles they speak of the "exclusiveness" of China--all this is permeated by the very same spirit of racism, only in a very new version, the version of social-racism.

Even in the sixties the journal XIN QIANSHE wrote: "It is impossible to consider as aggression the expansion of territories, but to declare weak, perishing nationalities as objects of aggression, to be in sympathy with them. The actions of a strong nation or state, aimed at the expansion of its territory, correspond to the laws of general development of our time."

Are such tirades far from the statements of racists of the "classic" model? Those who also always emphasized the right of the "strong nation" to deal with the "weak, perishing nationalities." The difference is only in that now coming forward with such affirmations are people calling themselves communists. The rejection of internationalism leads these renegades to nationalism; nationalism, taking on "continental" and the more so global ambitions leads to social-racism. The process of such ideological and political regeneration is complex, at times contradictory and for the outside world not immediately obvious, but prolonged under certain social and economic conditions.

The following facts, for instance, are not incidental. In July 1979 students from African countries studying in Beijing higher educational institutions demonstrated excitedly on the streets of the city. The demonstrators carried the slogans: "Down with racial discrimination!," "Do not commit new massacres!" At the same time in the Shanghai schools of higher education there was something like a pogrom of students from the developing countries of Asia and Africa. The victims of the violence put up posters: "Down with killings!" "China is not a socialist country!," "China is carrying out racial discrimination!" It is becoming well known that foreigners in China are subjected to ostracism and feel as if they are living in a ghetto. Xenophobia is encouraged from above. This all confirms one thing: the chauvinistic, racist ideology is alive in the Maoists even after the death of their "helmsman."

The same thing is indicated by the recent aggression of the PRC against Vietnam. The same thing is evidenced by the genocide which has occurred in Kampuchea under the rule of the pro-Maoist clique of Pol Pot and

Ieng Sary. Why was about 40 percent of the population of Kampuchea destroyed? Why does the PRC continue up to this day to threaten Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea? It is becoming more and more clear that the plan long ago nurtured in Beijing for including these countries in the zone of influence of the PRC envisages the actual Sinification of Southeast Asia. What is it planned to do then?

Everything indicates that the Maoists in fact intend to follow this path in the future. Their policy is the policy of the obsessed. Millions of rank-and-file Chinese communists have given their lives for the cause of socialism. With respect to the ruling Beijing group, its betrayal has been prepared for decades.

According to the affirmation of the same American biographer of the "helmsman," Snow, Mao "changed his ideological views at least seven times, progressing from a Buddhist to a monarchist to a socialist." Judging from all this, the nationalistic and racist ideas ensuing from Sinocentrism have been rooted in the heads of the Maoist leaders so deeply that the final turning of Beijing in this direction was just a question of time.

It is just as obvious, however, that millions of people in China are systematically being deceived by the Maoists and still do not understand where they are being led.

"Of course, by rousing racial hostility and tribal hatred, a government can for a time hold back the development of the class struggle, but only for a short time and besides at the price of still greater expansion of the field of the new struggle, at the price of still greater resentment of the people against the autocracy,"² wrote V.I. Lenin in 1905, discussing the policy of the tsarist government.

This prognosis will justify itself sooner or later also with respect to Maoist racism. Life itself points to this all the time in our day. The nations should know what this is about. Maoist racism is hiding its face. In this way it is more dangerous. Hidden racism is incomparably worse than open racism.

Certainly, there is no kind of "Asian Marxism." There are adventuristic politicians, Great Han chauvinists, possessed by megalomania, who, taking cover behind such masks, dream about Sinification of the world.

Marx and Engels wrote in the "Communist Manifesto" about communists: "...in the struggle of the proletarians of different nations they will single out and defend the common interests, not depending on nationality, of the whole proletariat..."³

This is the way true Marxists think even today. The world revolutionary process is inconceivable without internationalism. There is no doubt that the Maoist social-racism is doomed.

FOOTNOTES

1. In a letter to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party dated 5 April 1929 he wrote: "...The revolution will not suffer in any way if the peasant struggle is developed so that the peasantry becomes more mighty than the workers."
2. V.I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Collected Works], vol 9, p 334.
3. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], vol 4, p 437.

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INTERNATIONAL

OVERVIEW OF MAJOR WORKS BY SOVIET AFRICANISTS

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[Article by L.V. Goncharov and Yu. M. Il'in: "African Studies in the USSR (1970's)"*]

[Text] The successes of the national liberation movement on the continent in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the collapse of the colonial system and the formation of new sovereign states, as well as the development of inter-governmental relations by the USSR with the liberated African countries, have promoted the considerable expansion of the front of scientific research into African problems, the comprehensive and thorough investigation of socioeconomic and political processes on this continent and the study of the economies, social class structure and new international relations of the African countries, particularly Soviet-African relations. It was for these reasons that the Institute of Africa was founded as part of the USSR Academy of Sciences in October 1959. In addition to this leading center of Soviet African studies--the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences--several academic institutions are also engaged in the analysis of events on this continent. These are the institutes of World Economics and International Relations, Oriental Studies, State and Law, Philosophy, World Literature, General History, Geography and Linguistics in Moscow; the Institute of Ethnography in Leningrad; and institutes of Oriental studies of the republic academies of sciences in Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan. The universities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Alma-Ata, Frunze, Ashkhabad, Tartu, Kazan', Sverdlovsk and other cities are also participating in the study of African problems.

The Soviet africanists' main areas of scientific activity include the following:

The comprehensive study of economic and sociopolitical problems in the African countries, tendencies and prerequisites for their transfer to a

* Works by Africanists on the literature and languages of the African people are not included in this survey.

non-capitalist course of development and achievement of economic independence; the elaboration of Marxist-Leninist theories of development for the former colonial and semicolonial countries of this continent;

The improvement of theories regarding Soviet-African cooperation and the theoretical bases and practice of Soviet relations with the independent African states with a view to the increasingly important role played by these states in world development and in present-day international relations;

The analysis of the policy and ideology of neocolonialism and its Maoist and other accomplices in Africa; the disclosure of the goals, means and methods of the imperialist powers' neocolonial expansion;

The study of the history of the national liberation movement on the African continent and ways of putting an end to the racist colonial oppression of the African people;

The investigation of problems in southern Africa and the struggle against apartheid and racism;

The analysis of African cultures, their place in world cultural development, the problems involved in the establishment of contemporary African culture and the reforms carried out in this sphere by independent states on this continent;

The further expansion of ethnographic research in light of current social relations, particularly the ethnic composition of the independent African countries, as well as problems in the classification of African languages; the study of the tribe and the community, and so forth;

The investigation of geographic problems: the study of the development and transformation of the territorial economic structure and the processes of urbanization and population migration, the classification and territorial distribution of natural resources, the socioecological consequences of the population boom, the classification of African ecological and economic regions, the creation of an environmental protection system, and so forth.

In economic research, considerable attention is given to questions connected with development strategy, the proportions and rates of economic growth, the present status and future prospects of productive forces, the effects of the worldwide technological revolution and financial and economic problems.

The quantitative analysis of economic growth has been accompanied by the study of structural changes in the economy in connection with the utilization of national income, external and internal growth factors, the relative rates of industrial and agricultural development, the structure of public employment, the nature of foreign economic contacts and the status of African countries in the world market, and processes of economic

integration. Great significance is attached to the analysis of forms of ownership and the assessment of ongoing economic reforms in these countries.

The evolution of traditional patterns of living, the development of commodity and money relations, the establishment of capitalist forms of economic management, the position of foreign capital, the role and nature of the state sector and processes of nationalization and Africanization have all been discussed in works by Soviet experts on African affairs. The works published in this field in the 1970's have included the collective monograph "Ekonomika nezavisimyykh stran Afriki" [The Economies of the Independent African Countries] (Moscow, 1972), I. A. Svanidze's "Sel'skoye khozyaystvo stran Tropicheskoy Afriki" [Agriculture in the Nations of Tropical Africa] (Moscow, 1972), N. I. Gavrilov's "Problemy planirovaniya i razvitiya sel'skogo khozyaystva v stranakh Afriki" [Problems in Agricultural Planning and Development in the African Countries] (Moscow, 1973), "Deyatel'nost' mezhdunarodnykh ekonomicheskikh organizatsiy v stranakh Afriki" [The Activities of International Economic Organizations in the African Countries] (Moscow, 1973), "Problemy preodoleniya ekonomicheskoy otstalosti i strategiya razvitiya stran Afriki" [The Problems of Overcoming Economic Underdevelopment and the Development Strategy of the African Countries] (Moscow, 1974), L. V. Goncharov's "Eksport kapitala v razvivayushchiyesya strany Afriki" [The Export of Capital to the Developing African Countries] (Moscow, 1975), the collective monograph "Gosudarstvennyy sektor v stranakh Afriki" [The State Sector in the African Countries] (Moscow, 1976), S. F. Kulik's "Afrikanizatsiya v Kenii" [Africanization in Kenya] (Moscow, 1978), "Ekonomika razvivayushchikhsya stran. Teorii i metody issledovaniya" [The Economies of the Developing Countries. Theories and Research Methods] (Moscow, 1979) and others.

Science collectives have tried to reveal the natural tendencies and specific features of the reform process in the main economic branches of the African countries and to determine their future prospects, both in connection with the modernization of productive capital (or technical remodeling) and in connection with the progressive reorganization of social relations. These topics are discussed, for example, in the monograph "Sel'skoye khozyaystvo" [Agriculture] (Moscow, 1978), which is part of the multi-volume series on "Productive Forces in the African Countries" (Editor-in-Chief L. V. Goncharov). The monograph "Transport" [Transportation] (Moscow, 1978) from the same series contains the first discussion of the findings of a comprehensive investigation of the transportation system in the African countries, its carrying capacity and the principles governing the creation of an all-African continental transport system.

Several other works disclose internal and external factors of development, the characteristics of state regulation in the production and distribution spheres and the distinctive features of the struggle against imperialist economic expansion and for the reorganization of international economic relations. These include Yu. M. Osipov's "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: finansirovaniye ekonomiki i inflyatsiya" [The Developing Countries:

Economic Funding and Inflation], Kh. Fundulis' and Ye. S. Popov's "Assotsiatsiya razvivayushchikhsya stran s Yevropeyskim ekonomicheskim soobshchestvom" [The Developing Countries' Relationship to the European Economic Community] and M. M. Golanskiy's "Samorazvivayushchiyesya sistemy v ekonomicheskom analize i planirovani" [Spontaneously Developing Systems in Economic Analysis and Planning], all published in 1978.

In the field of area studies, a collective work entitled "Nigeriya. Sovremennyy etap razvitiya" [Nigeria. The Current Stage of Development] (Moscow, 1978), edited by Academician A. Gromyko, has been published. The economic and sociopolitical aspects of Nigerian development are analyzed in this work.

Soviet Africanists are paying special attention to the problems of African countries which have chosen a socialist orientation: The developmental experience of these countries has been summarized, signs of a socialist orientation in various spheres of public life have been pointed out, and the conclusion has been drawn that capitalism as a system has no future in the developing countries. The results of research in this field have been set forth in the books "Afrika vybirayet put'" [Africa Chooses a Path] (Moscow, 1976) and "Opyt sotsialisticheskikh preobrazovaniy v SSSR i yego mezhdunarodnoye znachenie" [Experience in Socialist Reforms in the USSR and Its International Significance] (Moscow, 1974) by V. G. Solodovnikov, "Nekapitalisticheskiy put' razvitiya v Afrike" [The Non-Capitalist Course of Development in Africa] (Moscow, 1974, in English) by V. Bogoslovskiy and V. G. Solodovnikov, "Afrika: problemy sotsialisticheskoy oriyentatsii" [Africa: Problems of Socialist Orientation] (Moscow, 1976), "Narodnaya Respublika Kongo v bor'be za sotsialisticheskuyu oriyentatsiyu" [The People's Republic of the Congo in the Struggle for a Socialist Orientation] (Moscow, 1976) by V. A. Stekol'shchikov, several articles and sections of books by Academician A. Gromyko, as well as in G. B. Starushenko's books "Afrika delayet vybor" [Africa Makes a Choice] (Moscow, 1975, in French and English) and "Sotsialisticheskaya oriyentatsiya v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [Socialist Orientation in the Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1977), "Mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess i sovremennoye mezhdunarodnoye pravo" [The World Revolutionary Process and Contemporary International Law] (Moscow, 1978) and A. V. Kiva's "Strany sotsialisticheskoy oriyentatsii. Osnovnyye tendentsii razvitiya" [The Countries with a Socialist Orientation. Basic Developmental Tendencies] (Moscow, 1978). An article by Academician A. Gromyko, "The Socialist Orientation in Africa" (MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', 1979, No 8), should be included among recently published works on these matters. All of these works are comprehensive in nature; the practice of building a new society on the African continent is summarized in these works along with the definition and investigation of theoretical problems of non-capitalist development in the areas of politics, economics, social life, ideology and culture.

Questions of economic planning are examined with a view to the effects of the technological revolution. One of the major consequences of the

technological revolution has been the reinforcement of the social nature of production. This also establishes the prerequisites for certain types of planning, including state planning, particularly in connection with the use of African natural resources, which are being drawn more and more into world commerce. The requirements of technological revolution and all social progress have taken material form in numerous specific programs, often with little interconnection, worked out on the national and international levels. The technological revolution, however, is creating opportunities for the improvement of planning methods and procedures. In particular, it has stimulated the development of the systemic approach in economic analysis and planning. This is discussed in works by works by S. A. Bessonov, "Ekonomicheskoye planirovaniye v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Afriki" [Economic Planning in the Developing African Countries] (Budapest, 1974, in English) and "Natsional'nyye plany i ekonomicheskoye razvitiye stran Afriki" [The National Plans and Economic Development of the African Countries] (Moscow, 1975), as well as a collective work by scientists from Bulgaria, the GDR and the USSR "Teoriya i metodologiya planirovaniya v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [The Theory and Methodology of Planning in the Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1978).

Soviet Africanists are paying special attention to problems connected with the increasing importance of the liberated African countries in world development and their international relations, particularly Soviet-African cooperation: the present status and future prospects of political, economic, scientific and cultural contacts between the USSR and African countries, Soviet-African interaction in the United Nations and cooperation in the resolution of international problems, the role of the Soviet Union in strengthening the government and international position of the liberated African countries, as well as in unifying them and putting an end to inter-African conflicts, and concerted action in the struggle for peace, disarmament and the prevention of aggression. The analysis of the situation in southern Africa and the active support of the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe and Namibia--and the Portuguese colonies before this--and to liquidate the regimes of racism and apartheid is of particular importance. These matters are discussed in the collective works "Afrika v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniyakh" [Africa in International Relations] (Moscow, 1970) and "SSSR i strany Afriki (druzhba, sotrudnichestvo, podderzhka antiimperialisticheskoy bor'by)" [The USSR and the African Countries (Friendship, Cooperation and the Support of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle)] (Moscow, 1977).

A work by L. D. Yablochkov, "Printsipy vneshney politiki afrikanskikh gosudarstv" [The Foreign Policy Principles of the African States] (Moscow, 1974), contains an analysis of the foreign policy lines of the African countries, the processes of the regrouping of class and social forces, their polarization, social class stratification and the mounting class struggle.

The investigation of the policies of imperialist powers in Africa and the strategy and tactics of neocolonialism is revealing new reserves and

possibilities for the improvement of national strategy and anti-imperialist struggle. The problems of inter-imperialist antagonism in Africa, the intensification of the general crisis of capitalism, the peculiarities of the evolution of neocolonialism and new developments in the African policy of the imperialist powers are analyzed in Ye. A. Tarabrin's book "Novaya skhvatka za Afriku" [New Battle for Africa] (Moscow, 1972, in Russian; 1974, in English and German), in the collective monograph "Politika imperialisticheskikh derzhav v Afrike na rubezhe 70-kh godov" [The Policy of the Imperialist Powers in Africa on the Threshold of the 1970's] (Moscow, 1973) and in the collective Soviet-Bulgarian monograph "Neokolonializm i Afrika v 70-kh godakh" [Neocolonialism and Africa in the 1970's] (Moscow, 1975, in Russian; Moscow, 1978, in English and Portuguese; Moscow, 1979, in Arabic). The authors of this work study the strategy and possibility of counteracting neocolonial influences as exemplified by Africa, while objective tendencies and the specific features of neocolonialism are analyzed in close connection with the struggle of the two world systems at a time of international detente and incipient national liberation revolutions. The book contains criticism of bourgeois reformist theories regarding new colonial policy.

When sociopolitical problems in African society are examined, considerable attention is given to the distinctive features of the social policy of the young independent states, processes of national integration, the peculiarities of class interrelations and class struggle, the formation of a proletariat, the national bourgeoisie and the role and place of middle and intermediate strata in the national liberation movement. These topics are examined within the context of national and state construction in the young countries of this continent, as well as questions connected with the functions of the traditional community under the new conditions, the eradication of ethnic separatism and patriarchal standards and so forth.

Various aspects of this group of problems are discussed in the monographs "Rabochiy klass v Afrike" [The Working Class in Africa] (Moscow, 1974) by M. I. Braginskiy, "Etnicheskiye problemy sovremennoy Afriki" [Ethnic Problems in Africa Today] (Moscow, 1973, in Russian; Moscow, 1978, in English) by R. N. Ismagilova, a collection of essays entitled "Obshchina v Afrike; problemy tipologii" [The Community in Africa; Problems in Categorization] (Moscow, 1978), "Sotsial'nyye sdvigi v nezavisimyykh stranakh Afriki" [Social Advances in the Independent African Countries] (Moscow, 1977) and the following books: A. I. Levkovskiy's "Melkaya burzhuziya; oblik i sud'by klassa" [The Petty Bourgeoisie; the Appearance and Fate of the Class] (Moscow, 1978), L. M. Entin's "Politicheskiye sistemy razvivayushchikhsya stran (gosudarstvo i politicheskiye partii v stranakh Azii i Afriki)" [Political Systems in the Developing Countries (The State and Political Parties in the Asian and African Countries)] (Moscow, 1978), I. T. Katagoshchina's "Intelligentsiya Nigerii" [The Nigerian Intelligentsia] (Moscow, 1977) and L. K. Tumanova's "Formirovaniye afrikanской burzhuzii" [The Origins of the African Bourgeoisie] (Moscow, 1969), the collective works "Pravo v nezavisimyykh stranakh Afriki" [The Law in the

Independent African Countries] (Moscow, 1969), "Gosudarstvo i pravo v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [The State and the Law in the Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1976), "Issledovaniya sotsiologicheskikh problem razvivayushchikhsya stran" [The Investigation of the Sociological Problems of Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1978) and others.

In the last 10-15 years, Soviet scholars have written a number of serious works which elucidate the complex processes of social development in the Afro-Asian countries from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint: "Klassy i klassovaya bor'ba v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [Classes and the Class Struggle in the Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1968, in three volumes) and "Natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye v Azii i Afrike" [The National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa] (vol I, Moscow, 1967; vols II-III, Moscow, 1968). The authors of these works analyze trends in the development of the young Afro-Asian states, the peculiarities of this process at a time of dramatic upsurge in the national liberation movement, the collapse of imperialism's colonial system, and the socialist orientation of some countries.

These problems are the subject matter of several collective and individual works by Soviet scientists which make up the series "The Economics and Politics of the Developing Countries." In the fundamental work entitled "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: zakonomernosti, tendentsii, perspektivy" [The Developing Countries: Natural Laws, Tendencies and Prospects] (Moscow, 1974), the authors analyze new historical experience, particularly the lessons learned from events that took place between the mid-1960's and early 1970's.

Works by Soviet scientists are delving deeper into questions of methodology and elaborating new approaches to the study of problems in the developing countries, which is reflected, for example, in analyses of the interaction of external and internal, global and local (national) factors of development, in the development and substantiation of "monostructural" and "multistructural" approaches to the study of developing societies and so forth. More attention is also being given to problems in research methods and techniques and the comparison of conclusions derived on this level of analysis to general theoretical tenets. The deeper analysis of this subject matter has been accompanied by the comprehensive disclosure of the relationship between national and social aspects of the societal and revolutionary process in Asian and African countries.

Forms of societal life in the developing countries are being renovated at a time of worldwide technological revolution, which is affecting all aspects of social life and giving rise to changes in productive forces, the basis and the superstructure. New phenomena engendered by scientific and technical progress are attracting more and more attention from Marxist researchers. These matters are discussed in the collective work "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: nauka, tekhnika, ekonomicheskii rost" [The Developing Countries: Science, Technology and Economic Growth] (Moscow,

1975), in A. Yu. Shpirt's "NTR i razvivayushchiyesya strany Azii i Afriki" [The Technological Revolution and the Developing Countries of Asia and Africa] (Moscow, 1970), in the collective work "NTR i mirovoy revolyutsionnyy protsess" [Technological Revolution and the World Revolutionary Process] (Kiev, 1977) and others.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism attached tremendous significance to the study of scientific progress and the role of science and technology in social production, and science's interrelationship with the industrial revolution and with social revolutions and radical economic reforms. The current technological revolution is having a profoundly contradictory effect on socioeconomic and political processes in the developing Asian and African countries. Several aspects of this matter are elucidated in A. Yu. Shpirt's "Tekhnicheskiy progress i neokolonializm" [Technical Progress and Neocolonialism] (Moscow, 1978), the collective work "'Tretiy mir' i nauchno-tekhnicheskiy progress" [The "Third World" and Scientific and Technical Progress] (Moscow, 1974) and D. K. Ponomarev's "Organizatsiya i razvitiye nauchnykh issledovaniy v Afrike (1960-1970)" [The Organization and Development of Scientific Research in Africa (1960-1970)] (Moscow, 1974).

Soviet scientists are also studying the ideological struggle and ideological currents in Africa, particularly the evolution of the views of revolutionary democrats and the ideology of ruling parties.

In his monograph, "Ideologiya i obshchestvennyy progress v stranakh Tropicheskoy Afriki" [Ideology and Social Progress in the Nations of Tropical Africa] (Moscow, 1978), N. S. Illarionov investigates various popular concepts of national development on this continent. The author pays the closest attention to the modernization of traditional social structures and the influence of the ideological orientation of ruling circles on socioeconomic development in the African countries.

The collective three-volume monograph "Klassy i klassovaya bor'ba v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [Classes and Class Struggle in the Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1968) contains an analysis of the present correlation of class forces and experience in class struggle on three continents, illustrates the political struggle of various classes and parties for the selection of a course of development and examines the ideology of classes and the ideological struggle. In his work "Nemarksistskiye kontseptsii sotsializma i bor'ba za obshchestvennyy progress v stranakh Azii i Afriki" [Non-Marxist Concepts of Socialism and the Struggle for Social Progress in the Asian and African Countries] (Moscow, 1974, in Russian; Moscow, 1978, in Arabic and French), Ye. S. Troitskiy examines the progressive and negative aspects of various socialist concepts in the developing countries. In his monograph "Razvitiye ekonomicheskoy mysli v stranakh 'tret'yego mira'" [The Development of Economic Thought in the "Third World" Countries] (L'vov, 1977), A. S. Grigor'yev analyzes contemporary non-Marxist economic theories in Asian and African countries.

The development of social thought is indissolubly connected with concrete historical conditions. The present-day ideological currents in Tropical Africa took shape during the course of struggle against the colonial regimes. The defeat suffered by imperialism in Africa has exacerbated the general crisis of bourgeois ideology. A work published in 1969, "Ideynnye techeniya v Tropicheskoy Afrike" [Ideological Currents in Tropical Africa], describes the evolution of such leading ideological and political currents on the continent as nationalism and pan-Africanism and analyzes the role of Christianity, Islam and traditional cults in socio-political life in Africa. The third volume of the collective monograph "Bor'ba idey v sovremennom mire" [The Struggle of Ideas in Today's World] (Moscow, 1978) analyzes a broad group of problems connected with ideological struggle in the developing countries.

Specialists took a great interest in a collective work by scholars from the USSR and GDR, "Afrika: sovremennyye struktury i protsessy" [Africa: Current Structures and Processes] (Berlin, 1976, in German), in which the authors examine the natural tendencies and peculiarities of social development, discuss the mobilizing forces of national democratic revolution and illustrate the external and internal factors influencing the basis of African society.

Within the context of the study of the national liberation movement in the African countries, the following problems are also investigated: the profound effects of the ideas of Great October; natural tendencies and peculiarities of the national liberation movement in Africa during the period of general capitalist crisis; the methodology of researching contemporary African historiography and the history of African social thought. Employing the general methodological principles of historical materialism, Soviet historians are working on such fundamental topics as the national liberation movement, the colonial expansion of Western countries, the machinery for the exploitation of colonies by mother countries, inter-imperialist conflicts on the continent, our nation's traditional ties with Africa and so forth.

The group of studies of problems in the modern and contemporary history of nations which have freed themselves from colonial dependence is exceptionally broad. The collapse of the colonial system of imperialism gave rise to an urgent need for the comprehensive study of socioeconomic and political processes in the Asian and African countries. In connection with this, Soviet Orientologists and Africanists began work on a collective publication "Natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye v Azii i Afrike" [The National Liberation Movement in Asia and Africa], consisting of three volumes--"The Age of Unfair Struggle" (Moscow, 1967), "The Awakening of the Oppressed" (Moscow, 1968) and "On a New Course" (Moscow, 1968).

In the fundamental studies by R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Ocherki natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by. Voprosy teorii i praktiki" [Essays on the National Liberation Struggle. Questions of Theory and Practice] (Moscow,

1976), "Sotsializm i osvobodivshiesya strany" [Socialism and the Liberated Countries] (Moscow, 1972) and "Sovremennyye problemy Azii i Afriki" [Current Problems in Asia and Africa] (Moscow, 1978), B. G. Gafurov's "Aktual'nyye problemy sovremennogo natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya. Razvivayushchiyesya strany Azii i Afriki" [Urgent Problems of the Contemporary National Liberation Movement. The Developing Countries in Asia and Africa] (Moscow, 1976) and "Oktyabr'skaya revolyutsiya i natsional'no-osvoboditel'noye dvizheniye" [The October Revolution and the National Liberation Movement] (Moscow, 1967), V. D. Solodovnikov's "Problemy sovremennoy Afriki" [Problems of Contemporary Africa] (Moscow, 1973), K. N. Brutents' "Sovremennyye natsional'no-osvoboditel'nyye revolyutsii (Nekotoryye voprosy teorii)" [Contemporary National Liberation Revolutions (Some Theoretical Questions)] (Moscow, 1974), and in the collective monograph compiled by researchers from the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, "Velikiy Oktyabr' i Afrika" [Great October and Africa] (Editor-in-Chief Academician A. Gromyko), the authors focus their attention on theoretical aspects of the national liberation movement, which are constantly investigated by Marxist-Leninist science. Soviet African and Oriental studies, which are now developing quite rapidly, are making an increasingly confident transition to broad theoretical generalizations in regard to the complex realities characteristic of the developing countries in Asia and Africa.

During the period in question, Soviet experts on African history have published several survey works which present an integral picture of the liberation struggle on the African continent. These include the collective monographs "Istoriya Afriki v XIX-nachale XX v." [The History of Africa in the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th] (Moscow, 1967) and "Noveyshaya istoriya Afriki" [Contemporary African History] (Moscow, 1964 and 1968; English edition published in Moscow, 1968), V. A. Subbotin's "Kolonii Frantsii v 1870-1918 gg. Tropicheskaya Afrika i ostrova Indiyanskogo okeana" [The French Colonies in 1870-1918. Tropical Africa and the Islands of the Indian Ocean] (Moscow, 1973) and the collective works "Istoriya natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by narodov Afriki v novoye vremya" [History of the Modern National Liberation Struggle of the African People] (Moscow, 1976) and "Istoriya natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by narodov Afriki v noveysheye vremya" [History of the Current National Liberation Struggle of the African People] (Moscow, 1978). Other interesting books are S. Yu. Abramova's "Afrika: chetyre stoletiya rabotorgovli" [Africa: Four Centuries of the Slave Trade] (Moscow, 1978), the collective work "Izucheniye Afriki v Rossii (dorevolutsionnyy period)" [The Study of Africa in Russia (Pre-Revolutionary Period)] (Moscow, 1977) and I. P. Tsintsadze's "Osnovnyye printsipy britanskoy kolonial'noy politiki" [The Basic Principles of British Colonial Policy] (Tbilisi, 1978, in Georgian).

For many years now, Soviet Africanists have been conducting research on a broad scale on political and economic problems in southern Africa. The 1960's were marked by the publication of numerous scientific works in which

unscientific and reactionary beliefs about the superiority of some races and peoples to others have been consistently refuted from the standpoint of progressive science and its individual fields--anthropology, ethnography and archaeology. In 1966 a collective work was published, "Protiv ratsizma" [Against Racism], as part of the series "Races and Peoples" of the Institute of Ethnography of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in which southern Africa is extensively discussed.

The works of the 1960's include A. S. Pokrovskiy's "Gornodobyvayushchaya promyshlennost' Yuzhnoy Afriki" [The Mining Industry in Southern Africa] (Moscow, 1967), T. F. Tairov's "Apartheid--prestupleniye veka" [Apartheid--Crime of the Century] (Moscow, 1968) and the collective work "Yuzhnoafrikanskiy blok kolonizatorov" [The Southern African Bloc of Colonizers] (Moscow, 1968). These works contain analyses of the machinery for the exploitation of the African population of South Africa, criticism of the inhuman tenets of racist legislation in South Africa, which contradict international legal standards and the UN Declaration on Human Rights, and an analysis of the imperialist foreign policy line of South African ruling circles and their contacts with international imperialism.

A new field of southern African studies is the analysis of attitudes of progressive forces in the world toward the problems in South Africa--apartheid, reaction and racism. For example, a book by Ye. S. Pchelintsev, V. G. Shkunayev and Ya. Ya. Etinger, "Ob'yedinennyye natsii protiv kolonializma i ratsizma na Yuge Afriki" [The United Nations Against Colonialism and Racism in Southern Africa] (Moscow, 1970), examines the place of the United Nations in the struggle against racism, discrimination and the oppression of non-whites in this region.

Several works were published in the 1970's--Yu. I. Guk's "Vneshnyaya politika YuAR" [South African Foreign Policy] (Moscow, 1973), A. S. Pokrovskiy's "Monopolisticheskiy kapital v stranakh yuzhnoy Afriki" [Monopolistic Capital in the Southern African Countries] (Moscow, 1976) and I. V. Cherkassov's "Vneshneekonomicheskiye svyazi YuAR" [The Foreign Economic Ties of the Republic of South Africa] (Moscow, 1977).

Liberation forces in the South of the continent, their development and their role in the struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid are discussed in A. B. Davidson's "Yuzhnaya Afrika. Stanovleniye sil protesta" [Southern Africa. The Establishment of Protest Forces] (Moscow, 1972) and V. P. Gorodnov's "Yuzhnoafrikanskiy rabochiy klass v bor'be protiv reaktsii i ratsizma" [The Southern African Working Class in the Struggle Against Reaction and Racism] (Moscow, 1969).

Studies of African cultural issues prior to 1970 had a double purpose: on the one hand, the "categorization" of the cultural achievements of the people of this continent in various spheres of culture and, on the other, the "rehabilitation" of African cultures--that is, the illustration of the greatness of African cultural achievements and the actual place of these achievements in the history of human culture. A work characteristic of

this stage in cultural research was the collective study "Vzglyad na afrikanskuyu kul'turu" [A Look at African Culture] (Moscow, 1966, in English and French), in which the first attempts were made to summarize some theoretical aspects of the cultural development of people on this continent. Many works on African art were published at this time. Works by N. Ye. Grigorovich, V. B. Mirimanov and G. A. Chernova analyze various stages and facets of artistic development--from the cliff drawings of the neolithic age to modern forms of painting and the plastic arts. The most prominent works include V. B. Mirimanov's "Afrika. Iskusstvo" [Africa. Art] (Moscow, 1967) and G. A. Chernova's "Iskusstvo Tropicheskoy Afriki" [The Art of Tropical Africa] (Moscow, 1968).

During this period, one of the major trends in the study of African culture was research into the religious beliefs of the Africans. In 1964 B. I. Sharevskaya's book "Staryye i novyye religii Tropicheskoy Afriki" [Old and New Religions in Tropical Africa] was published. It contains a thorough Marxist analysis of the traditional religions of this continent, their interaction with the world religions and the role of African religious movements in the anticolonial struggle. "Religii stran Afriki" [The Religions of the African Countries], a reference work compiled by G. A. Shpazhnikov, was published in 1968.

Questions of African cultural history were discussed in the books "Afrika yeshche ne otkryta" [Africa Is Still Undiscovered] (Moscow, 1969) and "Afrika: Vstrechi tsivilizatsiy" [Africa: Encounters of Civilizations] (Moscow, 1969).

As material and experience in the study of African cultural problems were accumulated, a new stage in the research process became evident at the beginning of the 1970's, marked by a heightened interest in culture as an integral complex of phenomena, in the problems of constructing a new culture in independent countries and in general theoretical problems in African cultural development. The general prerequisites and peculiarities of cultural construction on the continent--socioeconomic, linguistic and ideological--were examined in the collective work "Problemy kul'turnogo stroitel'stva v nezavisimyykh gosudarstvakh Afriki" [Problems of Cultural Construction in the Independent African States] (Moscow, 1971).

An analysis of the attitudes of African leaders toward cultural issues is presented in B. S. Yerasov's book "Tropicheskaya Afrika. Ideologiya i problemy kul'tury" [Tropical Africa. Ideology and Cultural Issues] (Moscow, 1972). General theoretical studies of African culture focus primarily on ideological problems in the development of contemporary "national" cultures. These issues are examined in a series of articles and works by B. S. Yerasov, A. N. Moseyko and M. Yu. Frenkel'.

A great deal of research work is being conducted by a group of Soviet ethnographers headed by Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences D. A. Ol'derogge. Ethnographers are devoting a great deal of

attention to systems of kinship, ethnolinguistic situations and the traditional social institutions in Africa. These research projects are aimed at the investigation of the pre-colonial period in African history. In particular, they have opened up a new vantage point for the interpretation of general African history. Soviet ethnographers have verified the antiquity of African culture, both social and material, as well as its art and social institutions, the complexity and variety of these institutions and the initial involvement of the continent in world cultural and ethnic contacts. They have proved that the African continent was never isolated from other world civilizations. After investigating the transition from a pre-class society to the class society, Soviet specialists have concluded that the general tendencies of social development are characteristic of Africa, although it also has some distinctive features. The collective works "Osnovnyye problemy afrikanistiki" [Basic Problems in African Studies] (Moscow, 1973), "Afrika: vozniknoveniye otstalosti i puti razvitiya" [Africa: The Origins of Underdevelopment and Paths of Development] (Moscow, 1974) and publications in special editions of NARODY I STRANY VOSTOKA and AFRIKANA will be of interest to the general reading public.

Soviet experts on African geography are examining extremely urgent matters: man and the environment, ecological-economic issues, the use of natural resources and so forth. The study of the problems of land devastation and efficient human economic activity will be of great national economic value to the majority of African countries. In the last 15 years, Soviet geographers have published 15 monographs dealing with individual countries, groups of countries or general theoretical geographic problems. Research is now being conducted to examine the development of the African environment under the influence of anthropogenic factors and the technological revolution, as well as the present state of the environment and the prospects for economic development in the zone of periodic drought south of the Sahara. The most prominent research works by experts on African geography include "Problemy ispol'sovaniya prirodnikh i trudovykh resursov razvivayushchikhsya stran" [Problems in the Use of Natural and Labor Resources in the Developing Countries] (Moscow, 1974), "Istoriya otkrytiya i issledovaniy Afriki" [The History of Africa's Discovery and African Studies] (Moscow, 1973), the comprehensive work "Vostochnaya Afrika. Ocherki geografii khozyaystva" [East Africa. Essays on Economic Geography] (Moscow, 1974) and "Razvivayushchiyesya strany; problemy territorial'noy struktury khozyaystva (geograficheskiye aspekty)" [The Developing Countries; Problems of the Territorial Economic Structure (Geographic Aspects)] (Moscow, 1978, in English). Studies have also been written and published on problems in economic development in the People's Republic of the Congo and some other African countries.

The research findings of scientific expeditions in the African countries have been of great value: an archaeological expedition in ancient Nubia (1961-1963), a linguistic expedition in Mali (1963-1964), a geophysical expedition in Mali (1964-1965), a botanical expedition in Algeria (1967-1968), a meteorological-ionospheric expedition in Somalia (1967-1970), a

a geological and geophysical expedition in countries in East Africa--Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi (1967-1969) and a Soviet-Somali historical expedition in Somalia (1971). These expeditions have promoted the further development of Soviet-African scientific cooperation and the establishment of individual fields of science in several African countries.

The Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on African Problems, headed by Academician A. Gromyko since 1976, has done a great deal to coordinate scientific research projects conducted in Soviet academic institutions and universities, to investigate the status of African studies in the USSR and the socialist countries, to organize science conferences and debates for Africanists with VUZ instructors and government personnel and to develop scientific cooperation and contacts with African studies centers in the socialist countries.

The Scientific Council has held three all-union conferences of Africanists: The first (Moscow, 1969) was held to discuss current problems in African studies in the USSR, the topic of the second (Moscow, 1974) was "Marxist-Leninist Science on Ways of Overcoming Underdevelopment in the African Countries," and attention at the third (Moscow, 1979) was focused on Africa's role in world development.

In 1979 the Institute of Africa and the Scientific Council held an all-union conference on Ethiopian studies.¹

The Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, as the leading research center, has accumulated a great deal of positive experience in joint publications with Africanists working in related institutes and organizations in the USSR and other socialist countries. Several fundamental studies have been compiled by groups of scientists representing various academic institutes and VUZ's in the nation. The Scientific Council is doing a great deal to enlist the services of Soviet VUZ's with highly skilled scientific and pedagogical personnel to work on problems in African studies and to conduct research projects and experiments. The Scientific Council has organized several theoretical conferences in conjunction with the nation's VUZ's (in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and L'vov), as well as a scientific symposium for VUZ upperclassmen in April 1978. The council has organized the first scientific school for young research associates and post-graduate students, which is giving these young scientific personnel an overview of African studies, providing opportunities for the exchange of ideas and opinions with prominent Soviet specialists and acquainting young scientists with the achievements of Soviet African studies in recent years.

Topical matters were discussed at joint sessions of the institute Academic Council and the Scientific Council in 1976-1979, particularly the issues of Great October and Africa, Soviet-African economic relations, the fight

1. See NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1980, No 1, pp 162-163.

against drought in Tropical Africa, the 15-year history of the Organization for African Unity, the socialist countries and Africa in international relations, urgent problems in African studies, and nationalism in Africa today.

The Institute of Africa is developing scientific contacts with African studies centers in other socialist countries and assisting in the work of Africanists within the context of the multilateral cooperation by the academies of sciences of the socialist countries in the subcommission on "Economics and Politics in the African Countries" and in the task forces entitled "The Foreign Policy of African Countries," "Planning Methods and Procedures in the Developing Countries," "The History of Africa and the National Liberation Movement in Africa," "Ideological Issues in the African Countries" and "The Foreign Economic Ties Between the Socialist and African Countries."

Soviet African studies have made considerable progress in recent years and have acquired international recognition.

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INTERNATIONAL

REPORT ON YEREVAN ARABIST CONFERENCE

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[Report by S. G. Grishin on the all-union Arabist conference in Yerevan in May 1979]

[Text] In May 1979 an all-union conference of Arabists was held in Yerevan to discuss the "Characteristic Features of Sociopolitical Development in the Arab Countries in the 1950's-1970's." It was organized by the Scientific Council on "Contemporary Problems of the Developing Countries" of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the IV [Institute of Oriental Studies] of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the IV of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences. This was the first conference on this topic. It was called an all-union gathering because it was attended by representatives from almost all of the major scientific centers in our nation engaged in the study of the Arab world. The interest in sociopolitical processes in the Arab countries is completely understandable, since the rate of reform in all spheres of social life in these nations has never been as rapid as in the last 25-30 years. After the Arab countries won political independence, they were presented with an opportunity to choose their own course of historical development. The first states to choose a socialist orientation appeared in the Arab world. A characteristic feature of the Arab countries in the 1950's-1970's was their non-uniform socioeconomic and political development. It represents, as N. O. Oganessian (IV of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences) pointed out, one of the main reasons for disagreements between these countries and the creation of political cliques and it largely determines the nature of relations with the socialist countries and the developed capitalist states. This has resulted in the emergence of two centers in the Arab world--the progressive (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, Iraq and Syria) and the conservative, headed by Saudi Arabia. The experience of more than 25 years of bourgeois rule in these countries proved that capitalism impedes social progress. Political power in several Arab countries is gradually being transferred to the petty and middle bourgeoisie or to military circles expressing their interests. Only one petty bourgeois group--the progressive segment constituting the basis of revolutionary democracy--is approaching working class positions. The rest of

the petty bourgeoisie leans more toward the views of the national bourgeoisie. P. A. Saradzhyan (IV, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences) directed attention to a danger that still exists--the degeneration of progressive regimes and their transition to a capitalist course of development under the influence of external (world imperialism and the reactionary Arab regimes) and internal (feudal lords and the bourgeoisie) factors.

As for the countries with a socialist orientation, the general positive assessment of their experience was accompanied by the mention of some negative features. G. I. Mirskiy (IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations], USSR Academy of Sciences) expressed the following opinion. The assumption of power by petty bourgeois, nationalist and non-Marxist forces in countries with national democratic regimes, the restriction of social reforms, the encouragement of the middle national bourgeoisie in urban and rural areas, the reluctance to involve the working masses and other democratic forces in real national government, the preservation of the private property ideology and the attempts of the right wing of ruling parties to establish a bureaucratic state-capitalist order under the guise of a socialist system are all characteristic to one degree or another of the countries that have chosen a non-capitalist course of development. We can see from the example of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, however, that if the revolutionary democratic left wing is strong enough, if it persists in promoting its policy and if it accepts the ideals of scientific socialism, the national democratic government can resolutely make the transition to a government of the popular democratic type.

Sociopolitical advances in the Arab oil-exporting countries are of particular interest. R. N. Andreasyan (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences) pointed out the characteristic features of the capitalist transformation of the oil monarchies of the Arab peninsula, where the multistructural basis (with growing capitalism of the feudal-monopolistic type and pre-capitalist patterns) has merged with a feudal political superstructure of the "feudal capitalist" type. The members of the ruling elite in the Arab oil monarchies, along with the trade and financial bourgeoisie, make up the petrocracy--one of the most reactionary forces of the present day. In the oil-producing countries of the peninsula, the process of capitalist development, V. V. Ozoling (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences) stressed, is still limited to the economic sphere, since the ruling elite is trying to diminish bourgeois influence in the sphere of ideology and social relations. The economic development strategy of these countries is based on the idea of "partnership" with foreign capital, which gives the local bourgeoisie, particularly its top echelon, comprador characteristics. This "partnership" is supposed to serve as the basis for the merger of the new feudal-monopolistic elite with international financial capital. An analysis of social processes in the Arab petroleum-exporting countries with a socialist orientation, R. N. Andreasyan believes, would reveal both positive aspects (maximally objective possibilities for social progress) and negative ones (the danger of bourgeois degeneration).

Many problems and tendencies of sociopolitical change in the Arab world were quite vividly reflected in the history of Egypt after the revolution of 1952. The reasons for the transformation of the political regime after Nasser's death were analyzed by A. F. Sulmanov (Institute of Africa, USSR Academy of Sciences). These reasons are connected with the fact that national democrats were governing the country without relying enough on the masses. They promoted the growth of a new urban and rural bourgeoisie. After the 1952 revolution, the government was not purged completely and, what is more, it was supplemented with representatives of the new bourgeoisie--bureaucrats, other representatives of the urban bourgeoisie and rich peasants. The authorities provided the working class and the poorest peasants with little opportunity to display revolutionary initiative. The attempts to create an avant-garde socialist workers party were unsuccessful. Egypt's defeat as a result of Israeli aggression in 1967 not only led to economic crisis in the country, but also exacerbated the class struggle and revived the hopes of the Egyptian bourgeoisie for the failure of Nasser's course of progressive reforms and a socialist orientation. Bourgeois circles, encouraged by imperialism and Zionism, began to vigorously attack Egyptian leftist forces in the press, taking advantage of the religious beliefs and fanaticism of the masses for the purpose of anti-communist propaganda. Counterrevolutionaries in Egypt were preparing for a coup even in Nasser's lifetime.

Under A. Sadat's leadership, representatives of counterrevolutionary forces took key positions in the press and continued to attack leftist forces, the state sector and the friendship with the Soviet Union. As a result of the 1971 coup and the declaration of the "open door" policy in 1973, the comprador bourgeoisie moved to the foreground, prepared to grant imperialism the positions it had lost in the revolution and to perform the role of a satellite in foreign policy.

Egypt's transformation into a stronghold of imperialism in North Africa and the Middle East was a logical result of the "open door" foreign policy line, Ye. A. Abgaryan (IV, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences) said.

The ruling regime, E. S. Yefimov (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences) stressed, tried to reinforce its position with the aid of the "infitaha" policy, but it had the opposite effect: The collapse of the sociopolitical and economic structure established under G. A. Nasser is destabilizing the present regime and intensifying political polarization in the country. The "new economic policy" could not solve urgent economic problems, and the joint Arab sanctions against Egypt are complicating the situation even more.

The ideological struggle in Egypt is conducted mainly in the form of disputes over assessments of G. A. Nasser's period of rule. Z. M. Alizade (INBSV, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences) noted that although repressive actions have been taken against leftist forces in Egypt and some leftists have been forced to leave the country, they are using literature and literary criticism to make legal statements and to fight against the rightist

intelligentsia's attacks on the progressive policy of Nasser's time. Under these conditions, antibourgeois views have become the main tendency in Egyptian progressive literature. The democratic intelligentsia, seeing socialist reforms as a means of escape from crisis for its country, has objectively become the only force expressing historical optimism in public opinion.

The problems of Iraq's sociopolitical development after the assumption of power by the Party of Arab Socialist Resurgence have attracted the attention of many Arabists. As G. S. Shakhbazyan (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences) pointed out, perceptible positive changes have taken place in the social structure of Iraq in the last decade. Progressive reforms are being carried out in the economy. In particular, foreign capital in the petroleum industry has been completely nationalized, the foundation has been laid for a petrochemicals and gas industry, and the petroleum, mining and processing branches of industry are being expanded. Agrarian reform has been completed in Iraq in general; it encompasses approximately two-thirds of the poorest peasants, cooperatives now unite six times as many peasants as in 1968, and state farms and collective farms are being founded, where the basic means of production will be owned in common. A strong state sector has taken shape in the economy (68 percent of the GNP in 1975). Several important steps have also been taken in the social sphere--laws have been passed on labor and social security, the wages of workers have risen several times, free education has been instituted, including compulsory elementary education since 1978/79, and illiteracy is being eradicated. The establishment of a rural infrastructure is being given a great deal of attention. Social problems that have not been solved as yet include inflation, the rising cost of living, delays in housing construction and so forth. The process of social differentiation is more intensive in the nation--the size and concentration of the industrial and agricultural proletariat have been augmented. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisie is also growing rapidly in urban and rural areas.

The important role of the working class in the accomplishment of progressive socioeconomic reforms was pointed out by K. Kh. Sambelyan (IV, Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences).

A report by A. F. Fedchenko (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences) and S. N. Alimovskiy (Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences) on the strategy and tactics of the communist parties in the Arab countries with a socialist orientation under the conditions of cooperation with national democrats (as exemplified by Syria and Iraq) aroused lively debate. The dispute concerned the correlation of socialist and capitalist tendencies in these countries. According to the speakers, the socialist tendencies prevail in all Arab countries with a socialist orientation, and the ruling parties heading these countries have considerable revolutionary potential. There were differences of opinion regarding the social nature of these regimes. Some conference participants described the regimes in the Arab countries with a socialist orientation as petty bourgeois. Others stressed the distinctive nature of these regimes and

objected to attempts to associate them with the petty bourgeois dictatorships present in the history of bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe. In their opinion (this was also the opinion of the report's authors), this definition of these regimes eradicates the qualitative difference between anticolonial and bourgeois revolutions and makes it difficult to determine the internal class factors in the evolution of national democrats, not only in the direction of capitalism but also in the direction of socialism.

Some aspects of the national question in Iraq were also discussed at the conference. The examination of the cultural heritage of the Turkmen (or Turkoman) people (there are 250,000-500,000 of them in the country), suggests that the Turkmen groups that moved westward, far away from Central Asia, were isolated from their Central Asian relatives in the ethnic, economic, cultural and even linguistic respects. As a result, as N. Gadzharov (Institute of History of the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences) pointed out, there are now two different nationalities with the same ethnic name. The cultural rebirth of the Iraqi Turkmen group began after the revolution of 1958. The decision of the nation's leadership in 1970 to grant Turkmen people some rights in the cultural sphere (including the study of their native language in elementary schools in regions inhabited by them) was of great significance in the development of the democratic traditions of these people's culture. A weekly newspaper and magazine began to be published in the national language and more radio programs from Bagdad and TV programs from Kirkuk began to be broadcasted in this language.

Speakers at the conference compared the basic characteristics of sociopolitical development in North and South Yemen. The basis of political struggle in the Yemen Arab Republic, according to O. G. Gerasimov (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences), was a class alliance of army officers and tribal chiefs for the purpose of liquidating the monarchy. The officers were unable to continue leading the movement, which caused the revolution to "regress" and strengthened the influence of the feudal lords, resulting in an evolution to the right. The success of the revolution in Southern Yemen, on the other hand, was largely due to the fact that the patriots in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen had much more experience in political struggle than the republicans in the Yemen Arab Republic, which played an important role in the transition made by the Southern Yemeni revolutionary democrats to a position of scientific socialism and resulted in the founding of the Yemeni Socialist Party in 1978. Choosing the socialist orientation, the nation's leadership simultaneously began to eradicate feudal and tribal remnants and the legacy of colonialism. Whereas republicans in the Yemen Arab Republic were not even able to attain the objectives of bourgeois democratic revolution and ensure the totally independent development of the nation, in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen the first steps have been taken to establish the prerequisites for the reorganization of society in line with socialist principles.

The study of social changes in the structure of the lowest population strata in the Arab countries, particularly those with a socialist orientation, is of great importance. The topic of a report by Ye. K. Golubovskaya (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences) was the little-studied issue of the sociopolitical status of the lowest strata of the urban and rural population of Northern and Southern Yemen in the 1950's-1970's. She was referring to the lowest category of "ahdam" (servants), as well as certain other strata, which, although they have occupied a higher position in the social class structure of Yemeni structure than servants and slaves, have been classified as members of "contemptible" professions and have actually been included among the urban and rural poor. This report aroused particular interest because the social class structure of Yemeni society prior to the 1960's was distinguished by the existence of a large number of tribes, the preservation of elements of caste, religious and racial divisions and the extreme tenacity of ancient customs and traditions. After the revolution of 1962 in Northern Yemen and the declaration of independence in Southern Yemen in 1967, the traditional pre-bourgeois social structures began to disintegrate and collapse more quickly, and the process has been more intensive and less painful in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Here the state is actively involved in these social processes and is directing them into the channel of its progressive policies.

The socioeconomic development of Tunisia was discussed in a report by N. I. Voronchanina (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences). The first stage in this development began after the achievement of political independence and was marked by a policy of economic liberalism and reliance on national private capital. The failure of this course, the dissatisfaction of the public and progressive changes in the Arab world forced ruling circles to conduct a new policy line in 1962-1969--the so-called "Ahmad Ben Salah Experiment," connected with measures aimed at a stronger independent economy, a developed state sector and peasant cooperatives. The third stage, the "new economic policy," began in the fall of 1969 and has signaled a gradual departure from progressive socioeconomic reforms and a transition to the capitalist course of development. This stage has been accompanied by the exacerbation of social conflicts, the deterioration of living conditions for the popular masses and the growth of the labor movement.

The considerable influence of Islam in the Arab world, particularly after the revolution in Iran, also attracted the attention of conference participants. Islam, as the state religion of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, occupies a prominent place in the doctrine of "Algerian socialism," since the religious aspect of the struggle for national liberation in Algeria, according to A. G. Virabov (IV, USSR Academy of Sciences), was of greater significance than in other Maghreb countries. The leadership of the National Liberation Front, taking the devotion of the majority of the native population to the principles of Islam into account, has acted in its defense and is using Islam for political purposes in an attempt to coordinate these principles with the socialist development of the country. This is why the progressive socioeconomic measures instituted in Algeria have not aroused any noticeable opposition on the part of religious groups.

After the revolution of 1958 in Iraq, internal reaction, K. Turdaliyev (IV, Izbek SSR Academy of Sciences) noted, was supported by Moslem leaders, who played a considerable role in national ideological life and whose views on the majority of progressive reforms at that time were negative. Religious leaders in Iraq are using sociopolitical changes in the nation to strengthen their own influence. Religious functionaries and Islamic and charitable organizations are broadening their sphere of activity. Many new religious organizations sprang up after the 1958 revolution, particularly in 1964-1967, and some of them still exist. Religion (Islam) is taught in secular schools, the system of religious instruction in theological academic institutions is being perfected, and Islamic periodicals and works by Islamic leaders are being published. Among these works, a prominent place is occupied by the writings of Shiite mujtahids, in which they analyze such issues as the religious indoctrination of youth and the theory of the Islamic course of development. Islamic libraries play an important role in this work. The governments of the republic have tried to pass themselves off as patrons of Islam.

A prominent place in the work of the conference was occupied by reports on international issues in the Arab region as well as relations between Arab countries and their neighbors. The basic stages of Turkey's relations with the Arab countries in the 1950's-1970's were analyzed by G. Z. Aliyev and I. A. Akhundov (both from the INBSV [Institute of Peoples of the Near and Middle East], Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences). The distinctive features of Iran's foreign policy line in the Persian Gulf region in the 1960's and 1970's were discussed by G. Dzh. Alibeyli (INBSV, Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences). Imperialist policy in the Red Sea basin was examined in detail by V. S. Yag'ya (Leningrad Pedagogical Institute).

The conference of Soviet Arabists demonstrated the higher level of scientific research into sociopolitical problems in today's Arab world. It should be noted, however, that several major issues--for example, social thought in the Arab East, changes in the class structure of the Arab world in the 1950's-1970's and the role of leading political parties and organizations in the social life of the Arab countries--were not discussed at the conference, there were few reports on the Maghreb countries and so forth. Nonetheless, the Yerevan Arabist forum, as Academician G. B. Garibdzhanyan of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences justifiably remarked, contributed to the more thorough elucidation of the present status, history and culture of the Arab countries.

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INTERNATIONAL

STALINIST ORGAN ATTACKS FINN 'PRAYER CRUSADE'

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 13 Mar 80 pp 8, 9

[Excerpt] Finland is becoming the bridgehead for anti-Soviet activity directed from the imperialist centers and using religion as means of intrigue. This year's main campaign is a "prayer crusade to the Soviet Union," organized for the purpose of creating contacts with the "persecuted congregation" behind the "iron curtain."

The organizer of the campaign is an organization by the name of Avainsanoma [Key Message], which is fed by western intelligence services with anti-Soviet material.

The purpose is to divide the USSR in Finnish areas of responsibility and to take advantage of the official friendship town connections between Finland and the USSR.

AVAINSANOMA delivers to the congregations and private persons who participate in the crusade detailed information on "suffering brethren and sisters." The purpose is to smuggle material across the border from Finland and to create contacts with persons "in prison camps" who then become the Finns' own "missionaries" in the USSR.

The editorial of AVAINSANOMA encourages its readers to be creative in order to establish contacts.

AVAINSANOMA also gives detailed directions for underground activity in the USSR. The directives are modeled after the brochure of the Swedish Slaviska Mission that is known for its connections with the CIA; this brochure tells how so-called religious literature can be smuggled and how Soviet officials can be misled. The majority of the material is sent with tourists. The Slaviska Mission also gives advice on how contacts can be made "even in localities outside the tourist routes."

According to the most recently published issue [of AVAINSANOMA], over 80 Finnish communities have registered for the prayer crusade to the USSR.

It is hoped that the number of people participating in the crusade can be increased to 200.

Connections

Although the anti-Soviet organizations that operate from Finland under the cover of religion declare themselves to be independent and purely Finnish, they have close contacts with the cold war centers of the west. This is also true for AVAINSANOMA.

An important contact organization is the Swedish Slaviska Mission, which publishes the paper LJUS I OSTER [Light in the East]. One of the information sources for the Swedish Slavic organization is the CIA man Andres Kung, whose book "Tapaus Engstrom/Sareld" [The Engstrom/Sareld Case] is distributed through AVAINSANOMA.

The Norwegian sister organization is called Misjon Bak Jernteppet [Mission Behind the Iron Curtain].

Dansk Europamission [The Danish Europe Mission] is a nordic contact organization. Its leader, Hans Kristian Neerskov visited Finland in September and October to give advice on smuggling materials to the USSR.

An important feeder of AVAINSANOMA is Keston College in England, which operates under the U. S. intelligence service and is a research center for religion and communism. Michael Bordeaux, the leader of the organization, is one of the best known organizers of the cold war "gospel work."

Fielding Clarke, an English pastor, has shown in his book "Christianity and Marxism" the untruthfulness of this organization's propaganda and its contacts with the United States.

These Are Spitting at the USSR:

--Stefanuslahetys [Stefanus Mission]

- *The Finnish branch of the organization "Christian Mission to the Communist World."

- *Publishes a paper called Stefanus-viesti [Stefanus Message]; chief editor: Pertti Lilja.

--Oy Kuva ja Sana Ab [The Picture and the Word, Inc]

- *A publishing firm directed by Leo Meller; cooperates with the Israeli and the U. S. intelligence agencies.

- *Publishes anti-communist literature as well as the magazine KIPINA [The Spark], the "Readers Digest" of Christianity.

- *In connection with Kuva ja Sana, operates the Itaavuntoimisto [Eastern Help Office] of Patmos Inc, whose field of activity is "the martyr congregation and the dissidents of the USSR."

*The secretary of the Itaapi at Patmos Inc, Pirkko Huhhtanen was caught by the Customs last May for attempting to smuggle 850 grams weight of Russian literature from Sweden to Finland.

--The Evangelical-Lutheran People's Mission of Finland

*The mission operating within the so-called fifth revivalist movement. Has a tradition of being responsible for the Slavic mission to the USSR.

*Publishes the paper UUSI TIE [New Road].

*Close to the Christian Union.

--Ari-Paino

*A printing firm in Saarijarvi that concentrates on publishing anti-Soviet literature and papers with a religious slant.

*The managing director of the firm, Vaino Rautiainen, is a direct representative of the Christian Union.

--American Evangelists

*In addition to the above, there are American preachers arriving in Finland regularly and operating among the youth especially. Recently, much uproar has been engendered by the organization Raamattu Puhuu [The Bible Talks] whose preachers cajole the young to join the crusade against the beast of communism.

"Church Suffers Most"

The connections of the Finnish Lutheran Church with the Russian Orthodox Church are warm and well maintained," says pastor Heikki Castren, the director of the church's information center in an interview with our paper. He stated that the archbishop himself is responsible for the official contacts.

According to Castren, the private organizations that have contacts with the socialist countries have no connection with the Lutheran and Orthodox churches.

"If anyone suffers from this kind of activity, it is the very churches themselves, both Lutheran and Orthodox," Castren stated.

One problem mentioned by Castren is the smuggling of Bibles, which according to him causes difficulties in the official contacts.

Castren told that Finnish-language Bibles were sent to the recently established Lutheran congregation in Petroskoi. Everything was done in a good cooperative spirit.

"When then these kinds of smuggling attempts occur, it only makes our work more difficult. All the official organs of the church condemn this activity," Castren said.

To our question about participation of the congregations in the prayer crusade to the USSR, Castren answered that he has no knowledge of such participation.

"Official Contacts Warm"

The archbishop's secretary, D. D. Tapio Saraneva agrees with Castren's views. According to him, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Finland has nothing to do with the "crusades."

"Our relationship with the Russian Orthodox Church is good. Every year, we organize visits and we also have other ways of cooperation. This year, in Turku, we will have the Fifth Theological Discussions on Doctrines with the Russian Orthodox Church."

Saraneva points out that the church in no way supports the smuggling of religious literature to the USSR. "These matters have to be managed through official channels," he says.

"Nothing to Be Suspicious About"

AVAINSANOMA is an organization that publishes a free paper by the same name. It is difficult to acquire information about the organization's activities or backers.

AVAINSANOMA declares that it is a registered organization. However, the organization register operating under the Ministry of Justice gives no indication of the organization.

The paper does not even publish the address of its editorial office. The only piece of information is the name and telephone number of the chief editor, Seppo /Pehkonen/.

Our telephone call to Pehkonen showed that the organization does not like to discuss its activities in public.

[Question] You are currently conducting a "prayer crusade" to the USSR. Are there corresponding campaigns going on in other countries as well?

[Answer] Of course there is the same kind of activity going on in other western countries too, for example in Sweden and Norway, but ours is a completely Finnish enterprise.

[Question] Do you have any connections with foreign organizations, for example with the Swedish Slaviska Mission?

[Answer] No organization connections. We do know individuals.

[Question] Do you exchange materials at all?

[Answer] I will not answer that question.

[Question] From where do you get information about the USSR?

[Answer] That's confidential among our organization.

[Question] Why can't you tell about it in more detail?

[Answer] Everyone understands the reason for that.

[Question] Does the information come straight from the USSR or through some other country?

[Answer] I will not answer that. It is clear that the information comes from the USSR. But we have something that is not told to outsiders.

[Question] So it is not a question of official information?

[Answer] That is clear.

[Question] Do you send some kind of material to the USSR yourselves?

[Answer] Now we are coming to an area where I will not answer your questions.

[Question] Could you then tell the circulation of your newspaper?

[Answer] That is not necessary to mention.

[Question] As the newspapers are circulated free and you do not carry advertisements, how is the financing taken care of?

[Answer] The entire operation is based on voluntary support.

[Question] How many functionaries do you have?

[Answer] I do not feel there is sufficient need to discuss those details.

[Question] Where is your office located?

[Answer] In Hakaniemi.

[Question] Could you give a more specific address?

[Answer] It is not necessary to have that disclosed.

[Question] Why is your activity concentrated only on the USSR?

[Answer] Every believer has received his own field of activity from God. We have received the USSR.

[Question] There are also other organizations which concentrate their activities on the USSR in the name of religion. Do you have connections for example with the Oy Kuva ja Sana Ab?

[Answer] No.

[Question] What about the Stefanus-lahetys [Mission]?

[Answer] No connections. We are fully independent.

[Question] However, you do get the material for your writings from somewhere. Could you mention anything about that?

[Answer] I am not duty-bound to answer this question, and I do not want to discuss it.

[Question] Not even whether you receive your information directly from the USSR or through some third country?

[Answer] I do not think it necessary to answer that either.

[Question] Do you have contacts with the Danish Europe Mission?

[Answer] No organization contacts, but we do have personal contacts.

[Question] Do you visit other countries often?

[Answer] I will not say anything about that.

[Question] Do you cooperate with any U. S. institution?

[Answer] I know some people from there personally, but I will not say who they are.

[Question] Have you yourself often visited the United States to get material?

[Answer] I will not give an answer to that question.

[Question] Are you not afraid that people might get an untrustworthy or suspicious picture of you because you do not answer any question properly?

[Answer] We are nothing to be suspicious about.

[Question] One last question: Have you ever had any difficulties with the Finnish authorities?

[Answer] None. Not once.

[Photo Caption] Seppo Pehkonen, Chief Editor of AVAINSANOMA and the Finnish leader of the anti-Soviet crusade.

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NATIONAL

LOCAL INITIATIVE, UNREGULATED LINKS FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Irresponsibility of Farmers in Verkola

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Nov 79 p 3

[Letter from Fedor Abramov: "On What We Live"]

[Text] The rayon newspaper PINEZHSKAYA PRAVDA (Arkhangel'skaya Oblast) printed a letter from writer Fedor Abramov to his fellow villagers. The writer sharply raised the questions of the responsibility of villagers for the fate of our village. However, one cannot agree with all the author's opinions. Offering this publication to PRAVDA readers, we ask them to express their views on the problems touched upon. The letter is printed with some abridgements.

Dear fellow villagers:

Sixteen years ago you sent an open letter to me in connection with the novel "Vokrug da Okolo" [Beat Around the Bush], which became quite famous. There were many valid reproaches in that letter, but this is not the topic of discussion now. I have always been concerned with the complex problems of development of the Russian village and its material and spiritual needs and I wrote about this in "Vokrug da Okolo" and some other works.

Now my writings from those years seem to me timid and even naive. Of what did my heroes dream then? Of receiving 30 percent of the hay procured by them, 30 percent! Is it possible that there was a time when these 30 percent seemed almost the limit of dreams?

What did our village not endure during the war and postwar years! How can one not be glad that today all this is behind us. How can one not be glad at the prosperity that came to Pinega, to our village.

A total of 209 rubles are now the average monthly wages in Verkola. Milkmaids, shepherds and machine operators often top 300 rubles. More than 100 new houses have been built in our village in the last 10 years--the time during which sovkhoses have been in Pinega. And what houses! Spacious, bright and well-planned--with electricity, refrigerators, television sets and even telephones--any city dweller would be envious.

Working conditions have also changed. Tractors, combines, trucks and other iron, as some wits tersely call various equipment, have long become firmly established in the daily life of the village.

To what are all these gratifying changes due? To milk yields, weight gains or harvests?

Alas, no. They are due to the state, to the continuously increasing state investments and subsidies, which reach almost 2 million rubles on the sovkhos.

Of course, the state and city owe a great deal to the village and the present financial help to it is quite justified. However, help is help, but how are these vast funds, these national millions used in Verkola?

The size of the arable land, which was small anyway, was reduced by more than 30 hectares. Milk yields increased from 1,641 kg per cow in 1963 to 2,254 kg in 1978. However, if we are to be serious, is this the great quantity of milk that has been discussed for so many years?

So what is the matter, dear fellow villagers? Who is responsible primarily?

Of course, the leadership--the sovkhos management and the rayon party committee. This is a truism. In Verkola in 10 years there have been seven different managers, for 3 years there has been no field crop brigade leader and year after year there has been a shortage of calfwomen and milkmaids. To put it mildly, there are many such oversights and miscalculations. All this is so. And you, my dear fellow villagers? Do you feel that you are responsible for the public sector? Do you always fulfill your obligations? Do you always justify with your labor the high wages and privileges given to northerners? Don't you turn--voluntarily or involuntarily--into state parasites?

It is a rare year when there is enough feed for livestock for winter in Verkola. For example, last year 2 kg of hay per day were fed to a cow and in the spring straw was even brought from the Kuban' (to a region of boundless grass!). How then can milk yields be increased? Just let the livestock be kept alive.

One cannot complain of a shortage of hay land--Verkola is buried in grass. Are there not enough people? There are 117 people at the Verkola Department--who needs more? But how many did participate in hay making? Forty

one people--a little more than one-third. Did these 41 people work very efficiently? It was said a long time ago: One harvest day feeds one year. All the more so, here, in the north. Days when the weather is good are worth their weight in gold. So, is it really possible to waste this precious time for nothing?

Why, did the people of Verkola forget how to work? Did they forget the age-old harvest skills? They did not. Work was in full swing on their own plots from early morning till late at night. A private plot is necessary and useful, but the public sector is still the most important in a village.

Why do calves die in Verkola every year? I hardly believed when I was told that eight calves died in July of this year. Of what? Of emaciation, in the middle of summer, when there was grass all around. Well, what of that? Did the people of Verkola sound the alarm? Did they take urgent measures? No.

The livestock breeding brigade leader says that there is a green strip of land with dense, succulent grass for calves nearby, but there is a shortage of calfwomen. For years calfwomen have been working without leaves, without days off and without a shift schedule.

Milkmaids--the most conscientious workers at the department, according to the same brigade leader--have also been working without leaves and without days off for years.

What is the way out? If a milkmaid becomes sick, there is no one to replace here. This is a disaster. Sometimes the people of Verkola no longer think about increasing the stock, but wonder whether part of the livestock should be transferred to other departments.

To be sure, it can be transferred, but will meadows not have to be also transferred then and after that the Verkola Department will have to be closed?

It is strange: We live on livestock (the sovkhos has a dairy and meat specialization), but we try in every way to avoid taking care of it. It is high time for men to go into livestock breeding, to take care of cows and to introduce mechanization everywhere.

But again the same question: Is it only a matter of machines, of the number of people? What about the people themselves--their attitude toward work, toward land, toward the farm and even toward themselves? Is sometimes the industrious farmer not displaced by an indifferent day worker?

The best arable wedge--the backyard--has not been plowed for a long time and has become a personal meadow. Many arable areas have been neglected

and are overgrown with shrubs. Remote hayfields along forest rivers--so-called "suzemy," are not being developed at all. During former times 2,000 hay carts were rolled out from there! One cannot look without pain at how tractors drive along and across water meadows--the famous Pinega low river banks--completely destroying the grass cushion of the meadow. It costs a machine operator nothing to drive on a grain field. In general, whatever one wants, one does. There is no control or daily recording in field cropping. Usually, wages are recorded according to what a worker, who sometimes has the vaguest ideas about labor honor, says.

Was there ever a time when able-bodied men were on leave during a harvest campaign? For years secretaries of the rayon party committee did not go on vacation during summer, but on what idea did the people of Verkola hit? In July, at the height of the harvest campaign, six of the best men were given leaves. Well, this was an oversight, there was a young manager... But what about the men themselves? Don't they have a conscience?

The former pride in a well-plowed field, a beautifully placed stack of hay, a neatly mowed meadow and a well-cared for and developed animal has disappeared. Love for the land and for work is vanishing more and more and self-respect is being lost. Is this not one of the reasons for the absenteeism, tardiness and drunkenness, which turn into a disaster? It would seem that the talk with the drunkard and the loafer should be brief: dismissal. After all, labor discipline is not strengthened with indulgence. But in Verkola in 10 years, during the entire sovkhos history, not a single man was dismissed. Do idlers and various lovers of easy living not take advantage of this?

In the village there is no shortage of talented and conscientious workers. Their hearts bleed when they see rotten hay, dying calves and drunk adolescents. "They got spoiled, they got out of hand," people critically say to each other. But why is their demanding voice not heard? Why none of them wants to become a brigade leader or manager? Why do they even talk out their adult children of participating in farm management?

Indifference, passivity and a lack of desire to spoil relations with their fellow villagers... And eternal hope for a strict and fair chief, who will come from somewhere and finally introduce proper order. Almost as in Nekrasov: "The nobleman will come, the nobleman will be our judge." But this is how grandmother Nenila, the illiterate old woman of Nekrasov's times, waited. But now, when almost everyone has near a secondary education, why should he wait for outside help? No one knows Verkola land, farms, people and local customs better than you. You must take things into your hands and put your house in order.

Of course, party and Komsomol members should have the decisive say. There are many of them in Verkola: 41 party members and 49 Komsomol

members. True, only one-fourth of the party members and one-half of the Komsomol members work directly in the department. Unfortunately, however, not all of them justify their vanguard role and the disease of indifference has spread among them.

Verkola is located in one of the most beautiful places of the Russian land, and not only Russian. During my lifetime I visited many different countries and saw a great deal of beauty in Japan, France, America, England, Finland, Sweden, Italy and Portugal. But our Pinega expanses, white nights and blooming meadows, our boundless forests and wooden structures are not inferior to foreign beauty. But do the people of Verkola value and cherish this beauty?

One can admire the Pinega bank near the village--multicolored pebbles and overflows of yellow sand. But one must not even think of stepping there with bare feet: There are broken bottles and cans everywhere. Moreover, one cannot go to the river without caution: It is also filled with this trash. The situation is not better in neighboring forests.

And in the village itself? There are three or four eternal puddles on the main street in Verkola. During bad or rainy weather one cannot cross them without high boots. Bricks, boards and sticks are thrown on sidewalks and no method of getting rid of them forever is found.

Till when will there be dirt and mess around the oil plant? Sometimes, when one passes it, one has to hold one's nose. The late Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Nechayevskiy, the famous director of the Vel'skiy Sovkhoz, fighting for cleanliness on farms, planted flowers near cow barns. And this is not a cow barn, but an oil plant.

Dogs have become a disaster for the village. People get a puppy, play with it, amuse themselves with it and then throw it out on the street. Moreover, the dogs that are with their owners are not on a leash. Life is made impossible because of the packs of dogs. There were cases when they bit children. Is it possible that only a big disaster will make us solve the "dog problem"?

The club should be discussed especially. How many reproaches and rebukes were heard at one time: Verkola does not have a cultural center. A club was built. It does not sparkle with beauty, looks like a barracks, but has everything: an auditorium, a library and a reading room. However, here too there is a shortage of solicitous hands. There are broken bricks, slate fragments, sand piles and scattered wood all over and furnaces and roofs have not been repaired. There are 25 deputies of the rural soviet in Verkola! What is the matter then? After all, you have elected them and it is your right to make them responsible for this.

The village teacher brought the light of culture to the people during all times. Such is the custom: Like the teacher, so are the children

and so is the appearance of a village. One does not have to look for an example far away. Ivan Andreyevich Danilov, a teacher in Sura, now a pensioner--how much did he do for his village! Through his efforts and with his pupils' hands sandy Sura was transformed into a green garden.

In Verkola planting was also undertaken--small birch trees were planted along the road from the school to the club. But why? To breed mosquitoes? Was the plan for planting greenery fulfilled? After all, this glade adorned with variegated mosses and edged with pine trees, like the small meadow near the post office, which, incidentally, is also disfigured by plantings, is beautiful in itself and not accidentally was a place of public merrymaking in olden times. Need one talk a great deal about the role of teachers in Verkola, when the school does not even have a sign-board with its name!

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the source of age-old popular poetry and beauty dried up among the people of Verkola. The concert of the local amateur youth group this summer was not inferior to the performance of other groups in the capital. The "Verkola Evening" was genuinely brilliant and delighted the audience with the art of the popular word, song and dance.

It is good that ancient houses, barns, churches and peasants' utensils are brought to Malye Korely. However, in the localities, in every village northern beauty must again come to life in songs, in dances, in handicrafts and in the preserved monuments. Why, instead of the beautiful, joyous and playful Russian folk dances diverse in their patterns, such as "vos'mery" and quadrilles, for example, young people are carried away by primitive jazz rhythms and Western shaking reminiscent of epileptic fits?

The question arises: For what kind of life, for what activities do some Verkola parents prepare their children? They themselves have been working with a scythe and an axe from an early age to this day, while their grown sons and daughters, today's highly developed young people, often lie on pillows until 11 o'clock in the morning, resting. Idlers and egoists, who do not know how to cherish and value bread and everything that is done by labor, are growing under the wing of such an unwise parental love and pity. They have learned their rights well, they demand a lot, but they don't want to know their duties.

There are 207 pensioners in Verkola. A vast force! But what influence do they have on life in the village? For example, how many of them did engage in hay mowing on days when the weather was good? One can count them on one's fingers. On the other hand, other pensioners, still full of strength, who have not even reached the age of 60, work on their plots with great zeal.

Did the private, personal plot not squeeze out our common plot in Verkola?

Yes, the affairs in Verkola give food to many thoughts. In brief, however, in the end everything rests on indifference and passivity. In Verkola there is no active, interested and demanding attitude toward sovkhos affairs, toward civic improvements in the village (what is one chaotic structure in the village worth!), toward culture and toward youth. But the future generation will live and work there.

Why should the future not be offered to Verkola right now? Gardens, flower beds, its own hotbed facilities, its own domestic center with various services, which, finally, will free the rural woman of laborious household work, and a house of true culture, where old and modern times will be in harmony, where everyone will be a participant and a creative person, not only a spectator. And, of course, well-cared for land, cows producing 5,000 kg of milk and the fast horse glorified in songs and stories, without which one cannot do in the north.

It depends on you, dear fellow villagers, whether such Verkola is to be or not to be.

Problems in Rural Areas

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Dec 79 p 2

/Letter from I. Chistyakov and A. Chistyakov, link leaders on the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, heroes of socialist labor, winners of the USSR State Prize, Molokovskiy Rayon, Kalininskaya Oblast: "Duty to the Field"/

/Text/ Dear editors:

Recently, we read in PRAVDA an open letter from writer Fedor Abramov to his fellow villagers in Verkola, a remote village in Arkhangel'skaya Oblast. He touches upon some problems concerning contemporary life in rural areas and people's attitude toward their labor, work and duty. The author reproaches grain growers for the fact that they are careless with their land and farm and are not concerned with labor honor. We don't attempt to judge the actual state of affairs on the sovkhos, but we are sure of one thing: The publication in the newspaper has hardly left grain growers, as well as every working man, indifferent.

We don't know how the people of Verkola reacted to such a message, but we admit that it offended us, people whose life is vitally connected with the field. Is it not painful that the writer did not find anything good to say about those who keep a difficult vigil over grain growing in northern regions? Nor can one unconditionally agree with the statement that farmers are indifferent to their work.

Are they really indifferent? In cold frost and intense heat, overcoming the whims of nature, we grow grain, potatoes, vegetables and flax and produce milk, meat and other products. It is not for nothing that people call this work battle. In fact, it is related to battle. Last fall is still fresh in our memory. We admit: The harvest did not come easily to us. And how hard was it for those who tirelessly worked on the virgin fields of Siberia and Kazakhstan. This is where the heroism of thousands of grain growers was manifested! Or let us take grain growers who did not shudder before the elements and gathered a record harvest of "white gold."

No, it is not accidental that in our country the farmer enjoys universal respect and love. Recently, we have had occasion to be in Zvezdnyy Gorodok, where cosmonauts handed out pennants named after Yuriy Gagarin to the winners in the all-Union competition. How many remarkable and industrious people loyal to their work and duty we met there! How many grain growers and livestock breeders, whose names are known to everyone, both young and old, there are in villages! A. Gitalov, M. Klepikov, M. Dovzhik, N. Pereverzeva, V. Pervitskiy, L. Peyps, A. Chudnaya and many others.

Have rural workers by common efforts not greatly increased field and farm production in the last few years? Let us recall the harvests we obtained about 15 years ago. Let us take our kolkhoz. The yields of grain crops per hectare did not reach even 10 quintals and now have exceeded 22 quintals. The flax and potato harvest is also twice as high. Such a growth is almost everywhere. The average annual grain output throughout the country during this five-year plan was 27 million tons higher than during the Ninth Five-Year Plan. This increase did not fall down from the sky! The contribution of those who work in the northern field to it is not small.

We don't say that we have reached our limit and that we have exhausted our capabilities. We have, as is customarily said, great potentials. But there are also problems, which hamper a more rapid advance. The writer noted some of their manifestations; for example, the attitude of some villagers toward labor. However, we would like to make a reservation right away. In Arkhangel'skaya, Kalininskaya, Novgorodskaya, Yaroslavskaya, Pskovskaya and Vologodskaya oblasts people are not less industrious than in other regions, although they have to work under more complex conditions. Russia's nonchernozem zone devoted a great deal of effort to the development of the industrial power of the state and of the country's other regions. On this land the war left painful scars and its consequences are felt to this day. Thus, the problems touched upon in the letter are much more profound and serious. We would like to discuss this.

Let us begin with the chief thing--the attitude toward labor. It is no secret--different people have different attitudes. As the saying goes,

it is a small flock that does not have a black sheep. It might be that there are careless people in Verkola. They are also on our kolkhoz and, to be sure, in other places. What are the reasons for such a situation? Why do some people consider it possible to enjoy public wealth without attempting to increase the share of personal labor?

One cannot give a simple answer to this question. One would think, however, that the basic reason lies in an insufficiently effective combination of the interests of the individual farmer and of the collective of a brigade, kolkhoz or sovkhoz; in other words, in the fact that on a number of farms wages are recorded, but not earned. They are not closely connected with the share of labor of everyone and with the final result. In some places not so much is received for what has been done as for appearance at work.

The shortage of personnel in rural areas voluntarily or not contributes to such a practice. It was noted long ago that on strong farms, where people stay, sometimes earnings are lower than on neighboring lagging farms, even though the productivity of labor of advanced workers is higher. But where there is a shortage of grain growers, they are paid without consideration for their contribution. We know many cases where an unfit worker, absentee, or drunkard disrupts work and destroys equipment, but it is impossible to fire him. Realizing this, such a worker is even cocky: "If you don't pay for my absence and if you don't repair the equipment at public expense, I will go to your neighbors." And he goes.

Is there a way out of the situation? Absolutely. Let us begin with the most elementary--introducing a proper order and strengthening labor discipline. Many correct and necessary words were said about this. Now it is time to change over to action. We must not become like the protagonists of I. A. Krylov's popular fable. Let us recall: The exhortations of the cook did not have an effect on Vas'ka the cat. Nor do such exhortations affect some other people. It is necessary to make stricter demands. In a collective where managers are demanding, other things being equal, production is managed much better. However, even strong and competent managers need more reliable levers for production management. They are primarily material and moral incentives. It is important to use a wage system that would encourage people to work, not to loiter.

Do we have such incentive forms? Yes, we do. Let us refer to our own experience. Not long ago we worked on the basis of orders. When we plowed a field, we received rubles and, when we harrowed, we also were paid. Seeing that machinery became high-speed, we wanted to wheel over more hectares. We also received bonuses and awards for this conventional output. We must confess that with such payment the harvest was not of primary interest to us. But the money for the work was already in our pockets!

Now each of us, brothers, has nonorder links: One has a flax growing link and the other, a potato cultivation link. Needless to say, the crops are labor consuming. But we don't complain. We have become convinced that only by establishing links for the end output do we give wide scope to initiative. Everyone knows: If one doesn't grow a harvest, one doesn't get paid. Therefore, we make efforts and work tirelessly. The worry about the harvest does not let us sleep. Now we receive money for it.

This summer the flax grew high. Winds came, twisted the stems and bent them to the ground. During the harvest we had to drive the combine toward the winds in order not to crush the "northern silk" in the field. This is easily said, but it is incredibly hard to make a bulky combine turn on each plot. There was no other way out. We began and finished working at dawn.

Enthusiasm? The farmer's conscience? Yes, man cannot live without this. However, such a mood also has another, purely material, measurement. At the end of the year every link member will receive 600 to 800 rubles of additional pay. One link delivered more than 1 ton of flax in terms of fiber and 5.3 quintals of flax seeds per hectare from an area of 101 hectares. The other link delivered 266 quintals of potatoes per hectare from an area of 50 hectares. Each produced output worth 35,000 to 50,000 rubles--four times as much as the average on the kolkhoz. The output is high and, on the average, the pay is 1.5 times as high as in other places. The nonorder links of Peter Suvorov, Nikolay Zav'yalov, Aleksandr Murashov, Ivan Makarov and Mikhail Smirnov also attained good indicators.

However, frankly speaking, are there many such links in our rayon, oblast or the entire country? No more than one or two. Why is this so? First, for some it is more profitable to get paid "by the wheel." They don't have to worry about the harvest, to spend sleepless nights and to tend the cultivated field. Second, here and there people don't want to introduce such a system. Agricultural bodies should have a decisive say here. For the time being, however, they show no concern. One would like to hear the opinion of the minister of agriculture on this and to find out what forms of labor organization and wages are most efficient and when they will be introduced everywhere. After all, it is not a matter of trifles, but of providing the country with food and increasing the yield of capital investments.

Thought must also be given to more efficient incentives for kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers. The principle "whoever works better, receives more" should also be in effect here. The July (1978) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee stated that it was important to further improve purchase prices and planning. A great deal has been done in this respect. Purchase prices of some types of products have been increased and brought in correspondence with expenditures. However, the problem is too serious

to be considered solved definitely. Kolkhozes and sovkhoses need a more effective mechanism of economic stimulation and development of production and effective methods of planning it.

Who is sometimes the winner today? The farm whose managers by hook or by crook "got" a smaller plan, exceeded it and received bonuses for output in excess of the assignment. The State Planning Committee and the USSR Ministry of Agriculture should examine such an important problem and introduce a proper order.

Another matter must be taken care of. What is simpler than to point a finger at the villager: You are guilty of the fact that not everything in the village goes smoothly. The state gives you so much money, but sometimes funds are spent without a return. Are things really as they seem to some outsiders? Perhaps we should plunge ourselves more deeply into life, into our concerns, in order to better understand what is what?

For example, let us take the following case. During the harvest campaign on a tractor a cardan shaft broke down. One would have liked to replace it as quickly as possible in the field. But this was impossible! The associations of the State Committee on Agricultural Equipment give the scarcest parts and units to their shops and plants, not to farms. A distance of dozens of miles had to be traversed before a shaft was found. In the end the shaft was sold to the kolkhoz, but on the condition that it register officially that the shaft was installed at a Sel'khoztekhnika shop. It registered this officially and paid an exorbitant price for it. We go through such painful experiences on account of any cheap spare part. This is most annoying. If this part were not available..., but it is, only not where it is needed.

Moral, not only material, factors have a great effect on man, his mood and creative activity. In olden times the farmer was famous for his sharpness, thrift and soundness. He did not do anything superfluous and treasured the fruits of his labor. These good qualities also help him to increase public wealth today. But once in a while we encounter other cases. For example, one sees a harvest scattered on the road. There are also worse cases: The harvest is gathered, carted out and lost at the procurement center. One thinks bitterly: Was it necessary to sow, to grow and to harvest the field only to have the harvest rot later?

"Such losses are intolerable," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "This is not only an economic problem. This is also a big political problem. It has a direct effect on the mood and labor activity of the Soviet people."

These are the roots of many negative phenomena! Sometimes one can hear the following from a plowman: We harvest for nothing. We have no place to store the harvest, we don't have enough transport facilities and we will not be able to cart the harvest out. Perhaps planners and procurement officials will finally say when farmers will be able to expect that

everything they grow will be preserved and the plans for sown areas and for the yield of crops will be coordinated with the plans for the construction of warehouses, elevators and storage facilities. After all, it is much cheaper to save what is grown than to replace what is lost through an increase in output.

We would also like to note another, moral, aspect of the matter, which is painful to the soul. When one comes to town, sometimes one sees discarded pieces of bread. One sees children who, instead of a ball, kick a dry roll. Why is that so? Is bread not too cheap for those who dare to throw it under their feet? Is the material and, especially, moral damage, which society suffers as a result of this, not too expensive? In any case, we, farmers, are disturbed by such an attitude toward the fruits of labor.

Utilizing effective incentives, it is possible to greatly increase the share of personal labor and the contribution of everyone to the common cause. The grain grower will try to do more, knowing that his labor will be evaluated more highly. However, for the farmer money also has a value when it enables him to acquire the necessary goods. If there is money, but goods are not available, economic incentives cease to operate in the necessary direction. We tell trade workers: Bring more necessary goods to the village. Now, however, some rural stores, instead of furniture and motorcycles, offer alcoholic beverages. We are very disturbed by the fact that many people have begun to consume alcoholic beverages. Need it be said that one will not attain well-being with alcohol? But the moral principles formed for decades can be shattered. Moreover, damage is also done to health.

We began writing about ourselves and about the grain grower's attitude toward labor. It seems, however, that the problem is much deeper. It concerns everyone: the farmer, the planning worker and the minister. We will attain more if everyone at his place fulfills his duty, contributes the maximum share of personal labor and, thereby, creates the conditions for an increase in the wealth of society.

Shortcomings in Farm Management

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by V. Yaganshin, breeder-zootechnician on the Mikhaylovskoye Experimental Educational Farm, Podol'skiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast: "Responsibility and Trust"]

[Text] Having read the letter from brothers Chistyakov-- machine operators from Kalininskaya Oblast--and the article by Yaroslavl' kolkhoz chairman K. Syroyezhkin, I decided to write to PRAVDA and share my thoughts about some problems preventing rural workers from more rapidly increasing the production of field and farm products and from attaining a more efficient utilization of labor and material resources.

There is no need to demonstrate how much has been done in the last few years to advance agriculture. Its material and technical base has become stronger and has been renewed and output has increased. However, as brothers Chistyakov write correctly, we do not yet fully utilize our capabilities and potentials. Every grain grower, not only a villager, has an unpaid debt to the field. It is important to create the appropriate conditions for its quickest settlement. This is not at all a matter of new capital investments. I would like to discuss this.

But first, a few words about myself.

As a participant in the development of virgin land I have government awards. I now work as a zootechnician on the Mikhaylovskoye Experimental Educational Farm near Moscow. Our farm is strong. In the last few years it has sharply increased the yield of fields, milk sales have almost quadrupled and labor productivity has increased considerably. Nevertheless, many organizational disorders and shortcomings in the management of and incentives for farms, about which brothers Chistyakov and K. Syroyezhkin write, also exist on our farm.

First of all, the fact that on kolkhozes and sovkhoses the role of specialists continues to decline and their independence in the adoption of decisions is limited more and more is disturbing. Sometimes rayon agencies do not even consult us.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the transfer of sovkhoses to full economic accountability considers it advisable to reduce the number of plan indicators and to leave the main one--the volume of sales of key types of products to the state. Everything is clear. Economically accountable enterprises should independently solve the problems of production development. Nevertheless, every year we are given an assignment to increase the number of cows, which exceeds the stock established by the industrial and financial plan. In this indicator the sovkhos has already surpassed the level envisaged at the end of the five-year plan.

Sovkhos managers and specialists are not against an increase in the number of cows. Moreover, we support such a line in every possible way, but only if it is substantiated and if there are objective premises for its realization. Our farm is not yet ready for such a growth and, therefore, it effects it at the expense of deterioration in livestock keeping conditions. To what does this lead? Farm productivity is lowered. In 1979 the increase in the stock made it possible to raise milk production by 155 tons. At the same time, owing to the decrease in milk yields, 188 tons were lost. Every month the herd contains about 4 percent of cows that do not give any output. On the average, 97,000 rubles are annually spent on keeping them, but there is no yield.

In the rayon a procedure was established according to which the documents for culling livestock are personally approved by the secretary of the city party committee and by the deputy chief of the oblast administration of agriculture. Both are busy people. One cannot always get to see them. Therefore, we lose a minimum of 1 month of work time a year on drawing up documents. All this is done for one purpose--to delay the culling of animals, to keep them in the herd and to create a semblance of well-being.

For this reason we also are unable to sell first heifers from the control and breeding yard to other farms. In the stock there are animals that do not meet our demands. A few years ago the sovkhos sold them to Vladimirskaya Oblast, which has a less productive livestock. Now we either kill or send animals to the herd, lowering its pedigree potential. The ban on the sale of first heifers sometimes leads to the destruction of part of the stock, which, in general, is quite valuable. Furthermore, the technological cycle of preparing heifers for calving is disrupted and control yards are overloaded with animals. In the chase after immediate profits we lose tomorrow's big output.

I would like to stress once again: a further increase in the size of livestock is a serious national economic problem. However, it should be solved simultaneously with the establishment of a fodder reserve and barns and with a rise in the level of mechanization of labor intensive processes. Otherwise, the increase in the stock not only fails to lead to an increase in production, but also lowers it. These are the ABC's of the management of livestock breeding. In my opinion, specialists and kolkhoz and sovkhos managers should play the main role in the solution of the complex problem. They must be trusted, but they should also be made responsible for an increase in the production of end products.

Not everything is satisfactory with planning. The opinion of farms often is disregarded. Preparation of assignments on the basis of the dynamics of the formed indicators alone cannot be tolerated. In practice, however, agricultural and planning bodies act differently. In 1971-1975 the rayon planning commission corrected our assignment toward an increase five times. This continues also now. Moreover, we were warned in writing that the "plan will be annually corrected with due regard for the fact (1) of the preceding year."

The words and deeds are not at variance. In 1979 the firm plan for the sale of milk to the state envisaged by the 10th Five-Year Plan was increased by 170 tons and the general plan, from 8,400 to 9,050 tons. All this is done without regard for the provision of farms with fodder and barns. Of course, such a disregard for capabilities does not increase milk yields and weight gains. It only creates an atmosphere of nervousness and lack of confidence. Correcting the plan "according to the fact" of the previous year deprives the farm of the possibility of obtaining an incentive payment for above-plan output and lowers the sector's profitability. Whereas in 1976 we obtained 108 rubles of profit per ton of milk, in 1978 it dropped to 58 rubles.

Plans have proliferated. There is a need for one plan, which would take into account the farm zone and the attained level of production and provision with capital. The assignment should be reinforced with the development of the fodder base and with the construction of barns. At the same time, we must not forget the need to bring workers' wages in correspondence with the level of labor productivity.

Incidentally, let us discuss wages. Brothers Chistyakov correctly noted that here and there wages are recorded, but not earned and at times do not correspond to the worker's contribution. This lowers initiative. For example, let us take the existing system of rate fixing in livestock breeding. It envisages two scales. Milkmaids obtaining up to 3,500 kg of milk per cow annually have the fourth category and those obtaining higher yields, the fifth category. This is 3.67 and 4.06 rubles per norm respectively. The milkmaid who stably obtains 5,000 to 6,000 kg of milk per cow has a higher plan, that is, a lower rate per unit of output. Her total earnings can prove to be even lower than those of a milkmaid with a low assignment, because the latter has the possibility of obtaining a bonus for above-plan milk.

The above-stated also applies to the wages of managers of the medium-level link. Sometimes they are much lower than a worker's average earnings and do not depend on the length of service. When salaries are fixed, only the size and category of a farm, not the size of a sector, are taken into consideration. Nor is the bonus for the specialist recorded according to the results of work of the sector managed by him, but according to the results of activity of the entire farm. It is hardly efficient for society to pay the same or even more to the worker who under the same conditions gives less output. In general, the problems of payment in agriculture represent the most neglected part of economic activity. It is time for the Ministry of Agriculture and the USSR State Committee on Labor and Social Problems to also pay attention to this.

Specialists spend a great deal of time on holding all kinds of conferences and on drawing up all possible forms of reporting and calculations not approved by the USSR Central Statistical Administration. All those on which we depend, that is, the pedigree association, the artificial insemination station, the rayon planning commission, the city party committee and so forth, can demand a certificate. Some certificates include 40 tables and more. Conferences are also endless. In 9 months of 1979 two rayon agencies alone summoned the managers of our farm for various "staff meetings" and "talks" 562 times. The director set a sad record. He had 131 summons. If his days off and leave are excluded, in practice, he spent almost every second day at conferences. How could he have time for livestock breeding?! These are only recorded invitations. One must prepare himself for each of them, spending many work hours. It is good that the subjects of conferences are often duplicated and the already available material can be utilized.

Such a system of management and the paper work cannot satisfy many kol-khoz and sovkhoz specialists. I will probably not be mistaken if I mention 3 or 4 years as the average period of their work in a rayon. I believe that in 5 years the Yerino Sovkhoz had eight different zootechnicians. People cannot tolerate the unnecessary nervous strain, not the labor strain. I am not at all against summons. They are inevitable when the work of allied organizations must be coordinated. An accounting of the activity or inactivity of managers must also be demanded. But when almost one-half of them spend their work time in rayon agencies every day, this is too much. It would seem that a significant number of problems can be successfully solved directly on farms.

The image of the manager described by L. I. Brezhnev in the book "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] should be a good example of the method of work with people for everyone: "He should be able to find colleagues, to trust them, to share his concerns and work with them and to adopt crucial decisions collectively, not to replace other workers." In fact, people withdraw from activities when their opinion is ignored, when they have to fulfill directions alien to their experience and present level of knowledge and when a peremptory shout is the decisive argument.

The relations formed with the partners of farmers also cause great dissatisfaction. There are too many claims against enterprises servicing agriculture. Here is an example. A total of 85 percent of the milk delivered by the sovkhoz to the state is first grade. Refrigerating units were purchased for this and an agreement for servicing was concluded with the rayon department of Sel'khoztekhnika. In 1979, in addition, 30,630 rubles were obtained from the state for the sale of high-grade milk. It would seem that the results were excellent. But... the same Sel'khoztekhnika had to be paid 30,495 rubles 45 kopecks "for the service." It turned out that services "ate up" the whole profit. What farm can tolerate such a destructive service? After all, with the money that is paid it is possible to buy new refrigerators every year.

My letter is devoted to shortcomings. Of course, the achievements of Moscow Oblast and our rayon are generally recognized. Perhaps the noted oversights are of an especially local nature, but I am convinced that attention must be paid to them so that they do not hamper further progress.

Advantages of Unregulated Links

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[Article by V. Papkov, link leader on the Leont'yevskiy Sovkhoz, Stupinskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast: "Not at Any Price"]

[Text] Today people in rural areas often wonder: "How is that? Land has not been added to the farm, there is more equipment, but we don't cope with our work. Sometimes we don't manage to plow the fall area, to stack

straw, or to cart out organic fertilizers." Experienced machine operators state: "We don't utilize machines quite efficiently." However, some farm managers do not agree with them. They say that there is a shortage of equipment. Thus, who is right?

To be sure, every farmer, having read in PRAVDA the letter from brothers Chistyakov, involuntarily began thinking about his field, harvest and attitude toward work, I, like the machine operators from Kalininskaya Oblast, am also disturbed by the following thought: Why doesn't the field bring the proper yield at times?

It is well known that the farmer's strength lies not only in the amount of equipment, but also in his ability to utilize it. We must give serious thought to why we do not operate machines at full capacity and at times do not manifest proper concern for land. I think that brothers Chistyakov are right: The forms and methods of labor organization and wages in large measure foster such an attitude in the grain grower. It is not accidental at all that they began talking about unregulated links, questioning why the experience verified by life itself and producing good results was being so slowly introduced on the country's kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

People can raise an objection: Why do you exaggerate the possibilities and importance of unregulated links? In order to convince those who are skeptical about such collectives, I shall refer to my own experience.

I am a machine operator and link leader on the Leont'yevskiy Sovkhoz near Moscow. For 14 years the small collective, which has only four people, has been working according to the unregulated system. When the link was organized, it was decided to cultivate grain crops on an area harvestable by one combine. Calculations showed that this was approximately 250 to 300 hectares. Two tractors, two tractor operators, one combine operator and his assistant are needed for their cultivation and growing of the harvest. Such a collective was able to utilize machines in two shifts and the people could replace each other during leaves, sickness and days off. Thus, a link of four people was formed.

Of course, we did not immediately feel the great benefit that the new form of labor organization and wages brought us, but we felt it quite soon. The monthly advance freed the link members of worries: What will they earn today? We have another goal--to do everything necessary to obtain the richest harvest, which will determine the income. We, like brothers Chistyakov, also try to make the maximum use of the possibilities for an increase in the productivity of arable land.

The link was the first on the sovkhoz and in Stupinskiy Rayon to master high-speed tractors, to use wide-cut units and to adopt full six-field crop rotation with two perennial grass fields. Gradually, the areas sown with grain crops were increased to 500 or 600 hectares. The yield also rose. On individual fields we threshed up to 50 quintals of winter wheat per hectare.

We also succeeded in doing a great deal to increase production efficiency. For example, 5 years ago we attained the indicators of the link of Kuban' innovator V. Ya. Pervitskiy. We produced more than 450 tons of grain per machine operator, which totaled 57,000 rubles per worker. The expenditures per quintal of output did not exceed 15 minutes.

True, in the last few years our indicators have been lowered slightly. One could refer to the weather. But it is not to blame for everything. Often we are forced to violate agrotechnical requirements. We are forced to sow winter wheat on barley and a smaller amount of fertilizers is allocated to us. However, even during bad years the yield in the link is 4 to 5 quintals higher than the average on the sovkhos.

The sovkhos managers, realizing the benefit afforded by the nonorder organization of labor, established such a link, whose nucleus became the family and relatives of Ivan Vasil'yevich Dmitruk. They decided to make it bigger. They assigned six people to it and allocated three tractors and three combines to them. When the sovkhos received new machines, the link was given two more tractors. During the harvesting of grain crops and the repair of combines three tractors were idle in that link. This is very unprofitable.

It is another matter when a certain amount of land and equipment is assigned to a link, when the labor of grain growers is organized so that machines are not idle and when wages are paid for final results, that is, per quintal of grown output. Then doubts as to the effectiveness of unregulated links arise very rarely. Everyone agrees that the assignment of land and machines to the collective and the unregulated system provide an indisputable advantage.

Nevertheless, unregulated links do not find support here and there. There are many reasons for this. But, in my opinion, the main reason is that farm managers and specialists do not always become the allies of machine operators. Their excuse: There is a lot of trouble with them. I will not deny: There is a lot of trouble with them, but only at first, until these collectives stand firmly on their feet. Later machine operators, manifesting a great deal of useful initiative, become reliable assistants to farm managers and specialists. It is important to promptly discern the positive in the troublesome.

As yet, however, some farm managers often do not consult those who grow grain and tend livestock, even though ordinary workers could make many sensible proposals and suggestions. Why is their opinion ignored?

Of course, it is simpler and easier to accuse machine operators of unwillingness to work with a full return and of the desire to go on leave in summer. I cannot agree with the reproach expressed in one of the articles that there is no reason to give leave to the "best men" during a harvest

campaign. If this is so, we, machine operators, have one way out, that is, to go on leave in January and February, when blizzards rage. After all, in rural areas almost all other days are very busy.

No, we should not approach the problem from this end. How should it be solved? In my opinion, we must better utilize the experience of such farms as the Mir Sovkhoz in Shaturskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast. One substitute machine operator was added to each link of three tractors and now all of them work according to a sliding schedule with two days off a week. After the organization of people's labor and rest was regulated, a large personnel reserve--147 tractor operators for 77 machines--was established on the sovkhos in 4 years.

Work according to orders became a distinctive hindrance on the path of establishment of such links. It has many shortcomings. It deprives the grain grower of his initiative and relieves him of the responsibility for the fate of the harvest. Here is a concrete example. A sowing complex was established on our sovkhos last spring. It was divided into two detachments: One was designed for the sowing of grain crops and perennial grass and the other, for potato planting. Unregulated links also operated.

Taking local conditions into consideration, we always began sowing later than other farms. This was known in the rayon and oblast. However, spring was late and for a long time the unpleasant zero appeared across the name of the sovkhos in the rayon report on the course of sowing. Alarm bells were often heard in the office. They seemed to remind us that the rayon leaders were nervous. Their mood was communicated to sovkhos director Oleg Alekseyevich Zhidkov and to chief agronomist Vladimir Vasil'yevich Chugunov. They also started fussing. Of course, one can understand them. Once the rayon leaders are worried and make demands, one must act. There were arguments. Unregulated links were blamed for the delay in the sowing date.

However, there was also a special detachment established for the sowing period. As soon as the order was given, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Polyanskiy, an old and experienced machine operator, began sowing. Later, in answer to my reproach, he said: "It is all right for you to gossip, but a day's work feeds me. Money is not paid for waiting." Most likely, he is right. After all, a hectare and a rapidly turning tractor wheel, not a quintal of output, determine his wages. The bigger the output, the higher the pay. He lives by the day.

Was it possible to do without haste? Of course, three-sowing units of unregulated links joined the operation and in 3 days the sovkhos moved from the last place to the fourth place in the report, leaving 12 farms behind. This indicates that equipment was used better by our farm than by neighboring farms, where there are no unregulated links. But the main thing is that the competition in sowing dates is more harmful than useful for the harvest.

People became convinced of this 2 weeks later when chief agronomist V. Chugunov drove link and brigade leaders and detachment chiefs along fields in order to determine whose crops were better. He did not show the plots where A. Polyanskiy's detachment began sowing according to an order. He bypassed them, admitting that they were bad--there were many flaws and uneven sprouts there. When the harvest time arrived, a big difference in the yield, especially felt during a dry summer, was revealed inevitably. Only 5 to 6 quintals of barley per hectare were gathered on A. Polyanskiy's fields, 15 quintals, on our areas and 28 quintals of oats, in Dmitruk's link.

In unregulated collectives machine operators know that they can increase their earnings in only one way--growing a higher harvest. At present the relationship between these earnings and the final results of labor is ensured through the job-contract-plus-bonus wage system. At first it played an important role in the strengthening of the material interest of grain growers and in the development of public production. Today, however, it can be said that many of its principles have become obsolete and hamper a more efficient work of economically accountable collectives.

One of the shortcomings lies in the fact that often advanced collectives, which attained the best indicators, are in a worse situation; for example, the link that obtains higher harvests and the level of planning indicators is higher. As a result, his job rate for output is lower. This means that the amount of the bonus is also smaller. Is this fair? Of course, not.

- Is there a way out of such a situation? Yes, there is. For example, for our link the workers of the All-Russian Scientific Research Institute of Economics, Labor and Management in Agriculture developed a system of payment for output on the basis of advanced incentive norms. A fair principle is realized in it: The higher the harvest, the higher the job rate at which the payment for output is recorded.

Machine operators like such a wage system. I know that it is successfully used on farms in Nikolayevskaya Oblast and the Kirgiz SSR.

Practice shows that unregulated links have learned to grow a rich harvest not with numbers, but with ability, not at any price, but with the smallest expenditures. It is important to support this initiative, to interest people in the attainment of the richest harvest, to better utilize their creative work and to inculcate in them an efficient attitude toward land and equipment and toward the fruits of their labor. We have such experience and it is not hidden away.

11,439
GSO: 1800

NATIONAL

GEORGIAN SSR EXPERIMENTAL TRANSFER OF AUDIT SERVICES DISCUSSED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by B. Fedorov: "Under the Departmental 'Press'"]

[Text] The article "One's Own Auditors" (PRAVDA, 22 November 1979) discussed the imperfections and low effectiveness of departmental control. It focused on Georgia to examine the search for the optimal solution to the problem. It discussed in particular an experiment in reorganizing the auditing services of several ministries, turned over to the republic's Ministry of Finance. Various statements and arguments were presented. Today this discussion is continued.

The absolute majority are unanimous--the present state of the auditing services of the ministries and departments is not up to requirements. "Our experience indicates that the departmental auditors are to blame for the fact that in many cases large-scale theft goes undetected for a long time, and shortcomings in the work of various organizations and enterprises are not eliminated. As a rule, such instances are detected by the auditors of the KRU [Control-Auditing Administration] of the Ministry of Finance or people's control organs," writes accounting expert N. Olenchenko of the Dagestan Scientific-Research Laboratory of Judicial Appraisal.

And here is the opinion of two readers from the Moscow area--I. Demidov of Lytkarino and S. Rubtsov of Zheleznodorozhnyy: "There is a saying that what has been written with a pen cannot be chopped out with an ax. Yet inconvenient truths are actually being 'chopped out' of the documents of departmental audits without using any ax."

The same idea is elaborated by G. Kordyukov of Lipetsk. Sometimes, audit materials are examined by officials of the finance organs, the procurator's office, and people's control committees. Being aware of this, some officials look through the audit documents beforehand in order to tidy them up and make them look good. And there are some officials who give the auditors direct orders to 'smooth off' the rough

edges, because the illegal actions of a sovkhos director, for example, also ricochet against the trust manager. For years, many sovkhoses in Lipetskaya Oblast have been 'milking cows' which are listed as 'heifers' in the reports. This way the milk yield per cow is 'increased.' Trust officials are well aware of this. But they fail to recommend that their auditors reflect such facts in the audit checks."

We have been quoting from letters whose authors do not work in the sphere of departmental control. But what about the opinion of the auditors themselves? "I believe that the auditing service has outlived its usefulness; it is ineffective due to the departmental 'press,' narrowly parochial tendencies," writes V. Surdulyak, chief of the control-auditing division of the Turgayskaya Oblast Grain Products Administration.

"I worked in a departmental control apparatus for 28 years," writes V. Girich of Ternopol'. "Many commendations are entered in my work booklet. Nevertheless, the administration three times subjected me to reduction in personnel and twice reduced me in grade. Why? Probably it was my meticulous attention to detail and my impartiality. When no longer a young man I was forced to leave and take up another job. Now I am a shock worker of communist labor and am glad to be out from under their 'thumb.' But for the sake of my comrades who are still there, for the sake of our shared interests, I vote with both hands to liquidate the departmental control system. An experienced, honest, straight-thinking auditor cannot work creatively in such conditions."

Approximately the same opinion is expressed by T. Shamsiyev, head of the Administration of Accounting and Reports of the Uzbek Ministry of Food Industry: "For greater effectiveness, the auditing service ought to be centralized, as suggested in the article 'One's Own Auditors,' setting up main control-auditing administrations under the Councils of Ministers of the union republic." A similar opinion is expressed by V. Shkrobot of Vinnitsa, L. Yurchenko of Sochi, I. Palivoda of Aleksandriya, Kirovogradskaya Oblast, F. Novikov of Kopeysk, Chelyabinskaya Oblast, B. Kesler of Kiev, and many others.

And here is the opinion of Chief Accountant F. Kravchenko of the Don Scientific-Research Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy: "It is astonishing how many people are doubtful about the necessity of restructuring departmental control. Great economic benefits will derive from converting this service into an independent organization, for example under the Ministry of Finance. It is not difficult to imagine how economic officials of all ranks will react to this change and show greater responsibility for compliance with state discipline." K. Denisov of Lobnya, Moscow Oblast, A. Perminov of Sovetskiy, Krymskaya Oblast, and P. Levyy of Bryansk suggest that such organizations ought to be attached to the people's control committees.

In a detailed letter, Docent A. Shpig of the Donetsk Institute of Soviet Trade remarks: "Funds being used to maintain departmental control are not being utilized effectively. In addition, these shortcomings are causing considerable moral damage. Experience proves incontrovertibly that control is most effective when it is independent of the ministries and departments. V. I. Lenin wrote that full and complete protection of our interests requires the control of the People's Commissariat of Finances; not being involved directly itself, it can exercise effective, realistic control and verification."

Whatever the organizational structure of the control-auditing service, and whatever its affiliation, its personnel must possess many vital qualities and profound knowledge. But the fact is, continues Docent A. Shpig, that "we lack a theory or science of control. And where are we to get them--the colleges are not training financial-economic control specialists or accounting auditors. The VUZ curricula do not provide training in this discipline." V. Shaglanov of Moscow thinks this situation is not accidental: "My 30 years of experience in the KRU confirms that many officials are satisfied with poorly-trained auditors--they cause less trouble. But this attitude is absolutely wrong! When are people going to get serious about auditor training?" The same question is raised by I. Chistyakov of Sverdlovsk, A. Yavorskiy of Kotovsk, Moldavia, and others.

"For some reason we rarely give thought to the conditions under which the auditor must work," says Belorussian Finance Minister B. Shatilo. "For a large part of the year he is traveling, and his assignments last three to four weeks. Each time he encounters new people, different attitudes toward audits. And no matter how they end, no one is about to send their thanks to the auditor. . . .

"And what rights does the KRU employee enjoy? Only the right to conduct an inquiry. He cannot demand that officials give him a written explanation; all he can do is ask. If they want to, they will; if not, they won't. Sometimes the auditor is deliberately hindered, yet he has no right to take such high-handed administrators to task.

"A few words about material and living factors. After each travel assignment, the auditor has to take money out of his family budget. Why? Because norms of reimbursement for staying at hotels are not properly instituted. And consider this matter. As he rises in professional skills, the worker is given a higher grade, a jurist receives a higher rating, and now even typists and stenographers get differential pay. It seems only right to institute certification of auditors to assign them a grade, which would then determine their pay. And then if we were to include length of service, we would be much more successful in keeping experienced auditors in our system!

"A final point. Why not have uniforms for KRU personnel? After all, the auditor is an enforcement officer, a kind of order guard standing in the way of violators of state discipline. Such a move would considerably enhance the authority and prestige given to the auditor and help to discipline him as well!"

There was a broad range of responses to the article in question. The various readers actively support the proposals expressed in it and advocate radical improvement of the control-auditing system. "It is obviously high time to turn from 'problems and discussion' to practical steps," writes Inspector A. Klinyshkov of the Orenburgskaya Oblast People's Control Committee. "Coordinating the work of the control organizations under the aegis of the people's control organs represents a mere half-measure, like attempts to patch up the departmental auditing service. It requires fundamental reform." The same view is expressed by V. Medvedev of Sochi, G. Gasparov of Voroshilovgrad, G. Kandaurov of Sadovoye, Kalmyk ASSR, V. Chernyshov of Nevinnomyssk, and B. Kubitskiy of Vinnitsa.

Some readers are confused as to why the normative document concerning intradepartmental financial control, instituted in 1936, is still in force. Of course, discipline and proper order have always been essential. "Now, however, when the scale of management has grown to gigantic proportions, when the network of economic ties is becoming more complicated, dense, and elaborated, these factors are especially vital," said Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the November 1979 CPSU CC Plenum. "And it is not just a matter of discipline, of appeals to proper order. It is primarily a matter of meticulous, daily organizational efforts, precise verification of execution, flexible, well thought out cadre policy."

Are these standards met by the principles of organization of departmental control based on a decree passed almost 45 years ago?

6854

CSO: 1800

NATIONAL

'FORMALIST' WESTERN INFLUENCE ON SOVIET ART DEPLORED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by A. Lebedev, member of the USSR Academy of Arts, Doctor of Art Studies: "High Standards in Evaluation"]

[Text] "On my job I must do a great deal of traveling around the country and spend time in the large cities. I try to get to the sites of the art museums, to visit them, and to become familiar with the exhibitions of contemporary fine art. At times you experience very mixed feelings when viewing some of the works of our artists. Some you go by indifferently, others occasion a feeling of bewilderment and even of protest. And this is true of works of professional and graduate artists. Are we making a sufficiently vigorous impact on the artistic process of the critic? It would be desirable to have the pages of the newspapers and periodicals more frequently carry articles analyzing the status of art criticism.

Yu. Frolov, Moscow

Art criticism is an important factor in the development of the Soviet multinational fine art. Its productive influence is felt not only by the painters, sculptors, graphic artists and masters of decorative and applied art but also by the representatives of such relatively new and rapidly developing fields of art as design. It is more and more frequently addressing the problems of the reciprocal influence and enrichment of the artistic cultures of the brotherly nations of the Soviet Union and the countries of socialist concord.

Particular importance has been acquired by the articles containing criticism pertaining to the synthesis of art and architecture, the creation of new works of monumental and decorative art, and the development of national art handicrafts. It is worth noting that the exhibitions of the works of young artists are more and more frequently accompanied by creative conferences in which the masters of fine art participate.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on literature and art criticism has helped to strengthen its role and to overcome many outworn and unwholesome trends. There has been increased attention focused on this area on the part of the party committees, the publishing houses, periodicals, newspapers, scientific and educational institutions, and the creative unions. Newly published are a new journal (YUNYY KHUDOZHNIK [The Young Artist]), the collections SKUL'PTURA [Sculpture] and SOVETSKOYE ISKUSSTVOZNANIYE [Soviet Art Erudition], etc. Readers are obtaining good books and albums on major artists. Publication has begun on an extensive series of monographs on the masters of the USSR Academy of Arts.

While studiously revealing and publicizing the realist trends in the art of foreign countries, our criticism is also systematically analyzing the negative aspects in the art of today and is bringing to light the ideological and aesthetic character of contemporary avant-gardist art and its newest trends. This theme has been the subject of a number of works in recent years. Among them is the book "Modernism. Analysis and Criticism of its Basic Directions," put out in its third edition by the publishing house Iskusstvo.

Improvements are being made in the training of personnel in the higher school. The departments of art studies have inaugurated the subject "Theory and History of Art Criticism" and have published some special study aids. A number of VUZ's are conducting seminars on art criticism.

We have begun production of special types of research works and readers which serve as a unique guide in the practical activity of the critics. Among them is "V. I. Lenin and Fine Art. Documents. Letters. Memoirs" (Moscow, IZOBRAZITEL'NOYE ISKUSSTVO, 1977). This work, which is based on a wealth of factual material, represents a great pioneer in the field as a consummate advocate of realism and enemy of modernism. With exhaustive clarity the book showed that the theoretical views and artistic tastes of V. I. Lenin and his practical leadership in the fine art field represent an indissoluble and organic unity. We have also published books on the Marxist tradition of criticism of naturalism, decadence, and modernism and on the progressive art criticism of the period between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In preparation for publication are readers of Russian Soviet art criticism of the 1930's.

The work along these lines ought to be continued. It is particularly necessary to popularize in more active fashion the best examples of Russian democratic art criticism. We still do not have a complete collection of the works of such a superlative authority as V.V. Stasov. A number of his remarkable articles, published in back numbers of journals and newspapers which are barely accessible to the reader, have not been included in a single book publication or in any collection of works of criticism.

The CPSU Central Committee decree on "Further Improvement of the Ideological and Political Education Work" states that the tasks of educational work

are ill-served by the tendency to gloss over and sidestep unresolved problems and to ignore the deficiencies and difficulties which exist in various spheres of life.

Unfortunately, we are still publishing articles, books, pamphlets and catalogues which lack an objective party evaluation of some of the artistic qualities. We heap praise on thin, feeble works as well as those which bear the imprint of outright imitation of the modernist art of the West. The fundamental need--to bring the works of art into conformity with life--is still not being met in all areas. And this opens the door to subjectivism in the pertinent evaluations and conclusions.

You encounter circumstances where a mature professional artist suddenly submits at an exhibition pictures with wretched content and impoverished ideas. You are amazed to find that the artist is not troubled by the world's problems, by the struggle of the peoples for their social and national freedom, by the heroism displayed in the building of socialism, by the emotional experiences of man, etc. He has confined himself within the extremely narrow bounds of laboratory search and it is as if he has closed his eyes to all the life around him.

At the exhibition of the works of a group of Moscow artists, held last spring in Moscow, they set out as works of art plaster-of-paris pillows, slippers and stools. As portraits they submitted empty wooden billets, flat, unbroken and in essence bearing no relation to the genre to which they laid claim. In evaluating "innovations" of this kind the criticism must proceed from high standards.

At one of last year's exhibitions artist A. Shvegzhda exhibited an easel painting entitled "Dzhinsy [Jeans]," which portrays a pair of second-hand, slovenly, patched trousers. The painter not only demonstrated a contempt for ideological provocativeness but also forfeited elementary aesthetic taste and sacrificed artistic standards. Instead of noting the falsity of the path taken by the artist, the critic whose article accompanies the catalogue is moved by the fact that "these objects as painted seem more real than those we encounter in life."

Of course, there is no reason to speak out against a still-life as such. But this genre is supposed to portray the beauty, wealth and diversity of the objective world and the grandeur of human hands. The photographic, illusionist depiction of an old pair of trousers, which was accepted as a training study exercise, is scarcely worthy of widespread public exhibition.

An alarming development is the fact that some art critics and historians have recently begun to actively popularize the views of the theorists of the formalist schools of the 1920's and have been praising the work of the cubist, futurist and aimless trends in art. High ratings were given to the work of the extreme "leftists" in the supervision of fine art and the

higher art school in the first postrevolutionary years, even though this has led to such fatal consequences.

Not so long ago the publishing house Sovetskiy Khudozhnik put out the collected "works" of N. N. Punin, a well-known "theorist" of an extremely formalist group of the 1920's. Reading this book is enough to convince you that its basic ideological and theoretical tenets are in flagrant contradiction to the truth. In describing the Russian realist art of the 1880's, Punin called this period "the darkest and most dismal" for art. What prompted the critic to make this assessment? It seems that at the time "there was instilled in and thrust upon art aspirations which per se have nothing in common with painting. The so-called topicality, historicity, and civic virtue--this is what in that period was the criterion for artistic value."

Thus, the ideology, historicity and civic worth of art, in Punin's opinion, are alien to true creative art! And after all, this was a time when progressive Russian art expressed in the most profound way the liberation movement of the people's masses and was great precisely by virtue of its truthfulness, national character and civic worth!

What purpose can be served by the republication of these erroneous assertions of Punin in our time, when Soviet art criticism is called upon to help in every possible way in the strengthening and development of the progressive traditions of art? Yes, and in addition, the publishing house has presented the author to the reader as "an implacable enemy of formalism and a defender of realist art."

It is worth mentioning that the tendencies in favor of apologist assessment of the work of such figures of the past prompted the publishing house Nauka (Leningrad branch) to publish the letters of K. S. Malevich and M. V. Matyushin, who develop the ideas of "aimless art."

Further successes of Soviet art criticism are only possible on a path leading to decisive eradication of the "conceptions" of this kind and vigorous exercise of this criticism from the standpoint of the party loyalty and national character of art, which traits have convincingly demonstrated their vitality and productiveness.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES TBILISI UNIVERSITY STAFF

LD091027 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 15 Mar 80 p 1

[GruzINFORM report on E. A. Shevardnadze meeting with Tbilisi University academics: "Fearing Tomorrow's Specialists"]

[Excerpt] The education of young specialists--active champions of Communist Party policy, capable of solving complex scientific and technical problems under modern conditions--this is what the Soviet higher school regards as its crucial task and honorable mission. And it was the topic of an important discussion at a Tbilisi State University grand academic council session.

E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, met with the VUZ's academics.

The Georgian CP Central Committee, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze said, devotes great attention to the development of science, particularly in the republic's regions. In Abkhazskaya ASSR, Adzharskaya ASSR, Yugo-Osetinskaya Autonomous Oblast, Kutaisi, Rustavi and other cities scientific institutions have been set up. A republican academy of science's vice-presidency has been instituted to coordinate and purposefully lead these institutions and improve ties with scientific institutions in the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences and USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, formerly Georgian SSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education.

The nomination for republican minister of higher and secondary special education was Comrade D. I. Chkhikvishvili, former rector of the Tbilisi State University. He has considerable experience of party and state work and work in VUZes.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze introduced to the audience the new rector of Tbilisi University, V. M. Okudzhava, academician of the Georgian Academy of Sciences, describing him as a prominent scholar who enjoys great prestige in the republic, is well known for his researches among scientific circles in our country and abroad; he is an experienced organizer of science and an energetic and principled man.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze then dwelt on problems relating to the development of the republic's national economy which is taking place beneath the sign of the unswerving implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and 25th Georgian CP Congress and CPSU Central Committee resolutions on the Tbilisi party gorkom and on matters relating to boosting the republic's economy and culture and improving party-organization and party-political work.

The republican national economy's successes are inconceivable without achievements in scientific and technical progress, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze said. Many major undertakings and initiatives are inevitably founded on the creative thought of our glorious scientific intelligentsia which is playing an important role in the struggle for technical and socioeconomic progress and the introduction of new equipment and scientific organization of labor and in the training of cadre reserves and education of citizens of the Soviet land.

Noting that successes in the economic sphere, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze stressed that they are characterized by a considerable increase in the volume and rates of production growth, a further reduction in the lag behind the average union level, although in a number of very important indicators growth is better than average, and the intensification of the role of qualitative factors.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze gave those assembled a detailed rundown of the prospects of Georgian industrial and agricultural development in the 11th and 12th 5-year plans. There will be further development in the most progressive sectors: Machine building, including the aircraft and automotive industries and electric locomotive construction. New sectors will be developed, such as large-scale machine tool building, electronics, radio engineering, instrument building and a whole range of other progressive areas. Large enterprises will be constructed with scientific research institutions and special design bureaus. And today's student will be working in them.

Agriculture will develop rapidly. The task is to sharply increase labor productivity in agricultural production. An increase in mechanization and the maximum reduction of the proportion of manual labor will make a considerable amount of manpower available for new industrial enterprises being set up in the republic's different regions.

The increase in the number of industrial enterprises and the recruitment of manpower from rural localities should not upset the demographic balance at all. In order not to repeat past mistakes, we have constructed and are continuing to construct new plants and factories and branches of industrial enterprises in various rural areas of the republic. This practice is already bearing fruit. It will help to halt the migration of the rural population and improve the well-being of rural working people.

The achievements in recent years in the economic system, the national economy and science, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze went on, create favorable conditions for the spiritual growth of all our people and for the development of literature, art and culture as a whole. The examples of impressive successes in the spheres of literature, theater, representational art, music and cinematography are well known.

Student youth, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze said, must already be aware of the problems facing the Georgian national economy. And not only be aware of them, but be thinking of the contribution they are to make to the struggle to further improve the economy and culture. And the size of this contribution depends today on VUZ professors and teachers who have a job of state importance--the job of training and educating tomorrow's specialists. In fact, production development, scientific, technical and cultural progress and the future of the republic will depend in many respects on the quality of graduates from Tbilisi University and other republican VUZes.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze noted that the existing practice of overproduction specialists for some sectors while underproducing for others can be planned in strict accordance with development prospects in the national economic and cultural and social spheres. Obviously the time has come to regulate the training of pedagogical cadres and accordingly rearrange some Georgian VUZes. This will make it possible to train cadres for management, economics, finance, construction and transport and to widen the training of specialists for electronics, radio engineering, mechanics, automation, communications and other spheres.

The accelerated development of the progressive sectors of the Georgian national economy, the further boosting of agricultural production and the improvement of the quality of construction, primarily on the basis of increased labor productivity and greater mechanization, demand that special attention be paid to all sectors of science and technology.

The rapid development of the natural and technical sciences and many other problems posed by life should not in any way adversely affect the further development of the social and humanitarian sciences. Research in the spheres of philosophy, history, political economy, psychology, linguistics and sociology must be deepened and widened even further. Like the national economy and culture, science must be comprehensively developed. The social sciences create the foundation of our world outlook.

The republic's VUZes must train specialists with a mastery of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist teaching, specialists who have a clear picture of the party and country's political aims, have broad scientific and practical expertise and a thorough knowledge of their speciality. They should be true patriots and internationalists and enterprising organizers capable of working with people, listening to comrades' views and assessing critically what has been achieved. They will be highly cultured people--this is the demand of the times.

In order to educate specialists of this kind it is necessary to persistently develop in VUZ practice forms of academic study that enable students to acquire independent skills as well as profound mastery of program material. The higher school must also instill in its graduates the organic need for constant improvement of their skills. And the supreme aim of all work and all life should be the instilling of communist conviction in students.

The attainment of a new qualitative level in the VUZ training and educational process, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze stressed, cannot be implemented without a significant improvement of the VUZ material and technical base. This is an important and difficult task. There is still a lot to do in this area. The Georgian Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and the republican Gosplan must make a greater effort to look for possibilities and ways of creating a modern, long-term material and technical and training base for the higher school.

Concern for the higher school should be universal and nationwide. This means that all interested ministries and departments and major enterprises and associations, including union ones, must become more actively involved in this important matter.

Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze indicated the important positive changes that have taken place in the life of the republic's higher school. The problem of objectively assessing secondary school leavers' knowledge has been basically solved. As a result, the large majority of today's students enter VUZes on the basis of their knowledge, abilities, talent and work. This means that students now come to VUZes better prepared and begin to assimilate the VUZ program at a higher intellectual level and, consequently, they will constitute in the future an army of more knowledgeable and better qualified specialists.

The bulk of the present student body comprises socially active people who are indifferent to the phenomena occurring around them which are of fundamental significance to our future. And the collective of Tbilisi University professors and teachers is making a significant contribution to instilling these qualities in young people.

In conclusion, Comrade E. A. Shevardnadze wished the collective of the ancient Georgian VUZ new and big successes in training and educating highly skilled specialists, worthy citizens and active political fighters--builders of a communist society. [Passage omitted listing other speakers]

CSC: 1800

REGIONAL

GRISHKYAVICHUS ON LITHUANIA'S AGRICULTURAL, OTHER ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Vil'nyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 Feb 80 pp 1-2

[Report by Lithuanian Communist Party First Secretary P. Grishkyavichus at a meeting of the republic's party administrative aktiv: "For the Concluding Year of the Five-Year Plan--Shock Labor"]

[Excerpts] Comrades! We are today faced with the task of compiling the results of the republic's social and economic development in 1979 and the four years of the five-year plan as a whole as well as assuming our socialist commitments and determining the ways and methods of fulfilling them.

Four years of intensive labor in the current five-year plan have made it possible for us to forge ahead and to achieve new successes in fulfillment of the historic decisions of the 25th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums; also, the directives of Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev.

During this period the republic's workers of industry obtained a 21.6 percent increase in gross output production and a 12.6 percent increase in labor productivity. Sales of output came to nearly 440 million rubles above the plan. The plan for production of consumer goods was successfully fulfilled. During the four years production of cultural and welfare goods and household articles increased by 32.7 percent. There was a constant growth in production of output bearing the state badge of quality; this output now comprises 17.3 percent of the total production volume.

In speaking of the results of the work of industry in the just passed period of the five-year plan we must not fail to dwell on the deficiencies and oversights. Unfortunately, we still have these shortcomings. Both in 1979 and in the four years of the Five-Year plan as a whole the rates of growth of the production volume and labor productivity were below the planned five-year assignments. From year to year a considerable number of enterprises and associations has failed to take adequate measures for fulfillment of the yearly plans. The supplementary assignment for producing gross output and increasing labor productivity has not been fulfilled by

many enterprises of the ministries of the furniture and woodworking industry, the food and meat and dairy industries, the construction industry, and others.

Not fulfilled were the 1979 socialist obligations in railroad and motor-vehicle general-use transport, where, as before, there are a lack of proper organization and long layovers of rolling stock involved in loading and unloading operations. There is need for more efficiency in eliminating the existing deficiencies.

The most important work assignment is still acceleration of the growth of labor productivity. A great deal of attention is also being focused on this problem in the party and government decree on "Improvement of planning and intensification of the economic mechanism's impact on enhancing production efficiency and work quality." Nonetheless, a number of ministries and departments and associations and enterprises have continued to violate the regulations which set the maximums for number of workers. This is primarily true of the ministries of timber and forestry, construction, furniture and woodworking industry, building materials industry, and the food industry. We will be quite strict in requiring adherence to the limits for worker strength.

One of the chief ways of increasing labor productivity, as well as stepping up the development of the economic potential as a whole, is the remodeling, expansion and technical retooling of the enterprises now in operation. In recent years the republic's industry has done a great deal of work to improve production and escalate its technical level. At the same time, many enterprises are dawdling in remodeling their production, are regularly failing to implement their capital investments, and are violating the time limits for putting installations into operation. Progress is slow in the technical retooling in machine building, the cellulose and paper industry, and other sectors of industry. Deserving of serious criticism in this respect have been the construction administrations of the trusts Khimstroy and Kaunasstroy of the Ministry of Construction.

Remodeling and technical retooling of enterprises and all possible escalation of the technical level of production--these constitute the central task in the current stage of development, a task which must be the principal object of the daily attention of the party organizations and the economic managers.

Enhancement of the welfare of the workers is to a considerable degree determined by the status of the production of consumer goods. This matter was discussed at the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and plans were drawn up in respect to the task of eliminating the existing deficiencies and oversights. Now it is a matter of implementing the planned measures in optimum fashion.

In the past four years of the five-year plan production of consumer goods, in keeping with the five-year plan for this period, increased by 17 percent. As a whole, assignments are being fulfilled for production of consumer goods of light industry, furniture and woodworking industry, and local industry.

We should single out for special mention the successes of light industry (Minister Comrade I. Ramanauskas). The four-year assignment was overfulfilled both for growth of production volumes and for labor productivity. In this period sales of output amounted to 84 million rubles above the plan; this is one-fifth of the output produced above the plans by all of the republic's industry.

A substantial contribution to consumer goods production is being made by the nonspecialized enterprises of the machine-building, metal-working, chemical and other sectors of industry.

At the same time, it should be said that we are not fully exploiting the potentialities for increasing consumer goods production and eliminating the shortage of some mass-demand items.

We are not making full use of the production capacities for turning out television sets, galvanic cells and household chemistry articles. Not all the new installations for consumer goods production are being put into operation on schedule. We are falling behind in fulfillment of the assignments of the five-year plan for production of goods of the cultural and welfare and household categories. Some enterprises are producing sub-standard output and are not fulfilling their obligations for delivery to the trade organizations of output in the prescribed product assortment. We must now also direct our chief efforts to the elimination of these and other deficiencies.

The decisions of the November (1979) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee call for constant attention to the tasks of improving the supplying of food products to the population.

Causing concern is the work of the canned goods industry. There is need to improve the assortment and quality of the fruit and vegetable canned goods and we must increase the production of canned goods containing these types of raw materials; we are now experiencing a shortage of these.

As you see, the problems which must be resolved in the concluding year of the five years are extremely complex and acute. Under these circumstances, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the Council of Ministers of the republic deemed it necessary to establish for the ministries, departments, associations and enterprises supplementary assignments for increasing production volumes and labor productivity. In the current year the accomplishment of these assignments will enable us to obtain gross output in an amount nearly 70 million rubles above the plan. The

stepping up of the rates of growth of labor productivity in accordance with the assignment will enable us to obtain from this source more than four-fifths of the increase in production volume.

The workers in the field of services are successfully fulfilling the planned assignments and socialist obligations. For the four years of the five-year plan as a whole the plan for retail goods turnover was nearly 390 million rubles overfulfilled and for the sale of everyday services 9 million rubles. There has been increased sale of various food and nonfood products and stepped up rates have been achieved in developing the types of everyday services which are enjoying increased population demand.

The 1980 socialist obligations call for a 456 million ruble or 4.6 percent increase in retail goods turnover. Sales of everyday services to the population will increase by 4.2 percent.

An extensive program of capital construction is being implemented. For the four years the volume of capital investments amounts to more than 6.2 billion rubles, including nearly 4 billion rubles for construction and installation work. More than 6.2 billion rubles of fixed capital have been put into operation. The 1979 plan for state capital investments and construction and installation work was overfulfilled. Capital investments put into operation were 3 percent more than in 1978 and the volumes of construction and installation work were on the 1978 level.

However, with respect to the putting into operation of installations of a number of sectors of the national economy, the chief contract organizations are considerably below the required figures in fulfillment of the 1979 plans and socialist obligations.

The yearly plan for putting fixed capital into operation by means of state capital investments fell short of fulfillment.

A particularly bad situation has developed in the matter of housing construction. There was only 92 percent fulfillment of the plan for housing construction by means of state capital investments and the resources of the housing construction cooperatives. And fulfillment of the plan for putting housing into operation was even less--90 percent. After the remodeling, the Vil'nyus Home Construction Combine, despite the help given it, was never able to organize rhythmic work and as a result failed to complete more than 50,000 square meters of housing. The Ionava chemical construction trust Khimstroy was responsible for much delay in the construction of engineering communications in the residential microrayon in Ionava. Exceedingly poor work was done by the Vil'nyus Territorial Construction Trust and the Vil'nyus Mobile Mechanized Column. Things are going badly in the matter of putting into operation housing for the agriculture ministry and the land development and water management ministry as well as in Kedayskiy, Tel'shyayskiy, Utenskiy, Ionavskiy and Yurbarkskiy rayons.

It should be mentioned that the planning organs too have failed to show the proper flexibility. If they had seen to it that the housing construction resources were redistributed on schedule so as to insure dependable possibilities for their use, then we would now have far better results.

In recent years the construction and agriculture ministries have not made adequate provision for fulfillment of the plans for contract work. All the basic indicators for their activity have declined.

Despite the acute shortage of manpower, the use of working time on the construction projects is extremely unsatisfactory. Losses of working time within the shifts have increased as have unauthorized absences from work and other violations of labor discipline. Being used in an unsatisfactory manner are the construction equipment and mechanisms and the capacities for production of reinforced concrete and other construction structures. The yield on capital is declining and labor productivity is falling off.

In the concluding year of the five-year plan we will have to resolve important problems in capital construction. We must put production capacities into operation in a number of enterprises of industry and agriculture; we must build nearly 2 million square meters of housing, by 1 September schools for 23,000 pupils, hospitals providing 1,500 beds, preschool institutions for 8,000 children, and a number of other important installations. The collective of the construction trust Vil'nyusstroy is pledged to deliver for operation by the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet rule in Lithuania a museum of the revolution and a pavilion of achievements of the national economy located in the capital of the republic. Kaunasstroy is pledged to install a quarter in advance of the prescribed time limit capacities at the production association Drob' and by the 63rd anniversary of the Great October a large granary. The Kaunas Territorial Construction Trust is pledged to deliver by 20 September the first section of a dairy complex for 1,000 cows at the sovkhos-tekhnikum imeni I. Michurin in Kaunasskiy Rayon. And other construction organizations have assumed formidable but feasible socialist commitments.

There is now no more important task for the construction people than rhythmic work from the very beginning of the year and a striving in conjunction with the customers, to achieve the maximum possible speed in getting the still incomplete installations into operation and to fulfill the plans for each month and quarter. At each underway construction project it is essential to obtain maximum concentration of manpower and means, to more rapidly eliminate disorganized operation, to establish a high level of labor discipline and favorable conditions for the life and labor of the construction workers, and to develop genuine socialist competition among them.

The customer ministries and departments, the gorispolkoms, and the rayispolkoms must now address themselves to the task of on-schedule supplying of planning documentation, financing, equipment, and cable and other problems

for the underway construction projects. The Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways and the Vil'nyus and Shyaulyay railroad departments are committed to on-schedule delivery of all construction freight as assigned.

The status of agriculture has proved to be a very difficult one. The reasons for this are known to you. We harvested nearly one-third less grain than in 1978. True, the yield of other crops was somewhat better. Per hectare we obtained 140 quintals of potatoes, 227 quintals of sugar beet, and 142 quintals of vegetables.

But even though the plan for gross production of grain in the four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan was underfulfilled, the average yearly harvest of this crop was 24.5 percent greater than in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. The republic fulfilled the plans for 1979 and the four years of the five-year plan for state purchases of grain, potatoes, vegetables and fruits.

At the same time, we continued to show underfulfillment of the four-year assignments for gross production of sugar beet and potatoes. The assignments for sugar beet purchases were underfulfilled. The farms in the public sector were as a whole unable to fulfill the plan for purchases of potatoes and the vegetable-growing farms are every year failing to fulfill the assignments for production of vegetables in the planned assortment and sale of them to the state.

The failures in fulfillment of the plans and socialist obligations cannot be attributed solely to the unfavorable weather conditions. With the same conditions, the results obtained were far from uniform for many rayons and farms. Where last year the farms in Plungeskiy Rayon obtained 20.5 quintals of grain per hectare, those in Mazheyskiy Rayon averaged only 12.6 quintals per hectare. In Lazdiyskiy Rayon the sugar beet yield was 305 quintals per hectare but in Raseynskiy Rayon it was only 127 quintals. The farms in Varenskiy Rayon obtained 238 quintals of potatoes per hectare but those in Shirvintskiy and Ignalinskiy rayons only 114 quintals. Even more striking were the differences in the results obtained by various farms.

All this indicates that in many of the farm organizations there are still flagrant violations of the agrotechnical requirements and there is a lack of proper responsibility on the part of the managers and specialists of the farms and party organizations.

There are many serious deficiencies in the fodder production. The low yield of fodder crops is resulting in yearly nonfulfillment of the plans for fodder production. In the current five-year plan there has been a yearly decline in the extent of provision of cattle fodder from the organization's own production computed per standard head of cattle. In 1979 procurement amounted to only 9.5 quintals of fodder units per standard head of cattle but on the farms of Zarasayskiy, Moletskiy, Mazheyskiy, Shvenchyenskiy and Ignalinskiy rayons the procurement figure was only 6-8 quintals of fodder units.

In the four years of the five-year plan, on the kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other state farm organizations, as compared to the average yearly indicators for the Ninth Five-Year Plan, the average yearly production of meat was 21 percent greater, of milk 18 percent greater, and of eggs 45 percent greater. For all the categories of farm organizations the plan for the four years of the five-year plan, with a supplementary assignment for sale to the state, was 101 percent fulfilled for milk, 105 percent for eggs, and 98 percent for meat.

During the four years of the 10th Five-Year Plan the number of cattle in the public sector increased by 9 percent, the number of hogs by 28 percent, and the number of poultry by 50 percent.

In the last two years the rates of development of livestock breeding have declined. The year 1979 was a particularly difficult one for the republic's livestock breeders. The farms of the republic began this season's wintering of the cattle with a substantial shortage of fodder.

Insufficient fattening resulted in a significant decline in the productivity of the cattle. In 1979 the average yield per cow was 3,126 kilograms of milk--191 kilograms less than in 1978. The average daily weight gain of cattle and hogs in the fattening process declined. The yearly plan, with a supplementary assignment, was 96 percent fulfilled by all the categories of farms for sale of milk to the state, 94 percent for cattle and poultry, and 100.2 percent for eggs.

It should be noted that even under these conditions some rayons and farms, by skillfully exploiting the potentialities and internal reserves on hand, were able to obtain fairly good results. Deserving of high praise is the work of the Trakayskiy party raykom, the rayispolkom, the agricultural administration, and all the livestock breeders of the rayon. Last year the Trakay farmers not only did not decrease but even somewhat increased the production and sale to the state of all types of animal husbandry products. Winding up the year 1979 successfully were the livestock breeders of Varenskiy, Kayshyadorskiy, Lazdiyskiy and Shirvintski rayons.

At the same time, the results of the development of livestock breeding clearly fell short of the available potentialities in Akmyanskiy, Birzhayskiy, Ionishkiy, Mazheyskiy, Yurbarskiy, Shakyayskiy and Raseynski rayons.

In the last few years in the farm organizations of the republic the production costs have increased and the production profitability and net income of the kolkhozes and profits of the sovkhoses have declined while the indebtedness to Gosbank has increased. Some kolkhozes and sovkhoses finished up last year with losses.

In light of the conditions which have evolved, the matters of practical work for the development of animal husbandry, preparation for the spring sowing,

and increase of grain and fodders must in 1980 be at the center of the constant attention of the party, the soviet and agricultural organs, all the workers of agriculture, and the departments which service them. Every farm and every rayon as a whole must promptly work out concrete projected measures, organize the work, and establish strict daily monitoring.

The cornerstone of all the activity in agriculture is the task of achieving all possible increase of production of grain. This year every rayon and every farm must obtain a significant increase in grain production. We have quite good potentialities for this. As compared to the original plan for 1980, the winter grain crop areas have been expanded by 13,500 hectares and the overall area of grain crops is being increased by 40,000 hectares or 10 percent over 1979. Grain crops make up 52.2 percent of the structure of the sowing areas. In 1980 the plan calls for obtaining from each hectare of grain sowing area not less than 28.3 quintals of grain; the gross harvest of this crop is to be brought up to 3.2 million tons.

To provide for a full supply of fodder for the livestock breeding industry, production encompassing conversion of grain forage into fodder units is to be increased by 83 percent over the 1979 figures. This is a very difficult but a feasible task. The most important thing is to significantly increase the crop capacity of all the fodder crops and the productivity of the hay harvests and pastures and to prevent losses and spoilage of fodder. We must start this year to obtain substantial changes in the production of albumen. It is absolutely essential to find ways of expanding the sowing areas for leguminous crops--lupine, peas, vetch, fodder beans, leguminous mixtures--and we must make sure of obtaining high yields of these crops.

There has of late been some improvement in the extent to which the kolkhozes and sovkhoses are provided with machine operator personnel. The republic now averages 99 permanently employed operators for every 100 tractors. However, the availability comprises only 84-90 tractor operators per 100 tractors on the farms of Akmyanskiy, Anikshchyayskiy, Rokishkiy, Birzhayskiy and Zarasayskiy rayons. It is necessary to find reserves which will provide operators for every tractor and will insure two-shift operation even on the most high-powered tractors.

The most complex problems we will have to resolve are in the realm of animal husbandry. We must under no circumstance allow a curtailment of the sector and a reduction of the cattle population. Our fundamental policy is a policy of vigorous work and maximum mobilization of all the internal reserves and potentialities. There is good reason to feel that the socialist obligations, although formidable, are feasible. It is planned to have all the categories of farms sell to the state 62,000 tons of meat--live weight, 2.065 million tons of milk, and 503 million eggs. These milk purchases will make it possible to insure fulfillment of the five-year plan along with the supplementary assignment; the purchases of eggs will make it possible to exceed the plan by 242 million units.

A special role is played by the production of meat and sale of it to the state. The matter of increasing the resources of meat must be the object of special attention from the party, soviet and agricultural organs, the party organizations, and the managers and specialists of the farm organizations. A task of special importance is that of further increasing the average delivered weight of the young cattle and stepping up the production of hogs.

Every rayon and farm must unconditionally fulfill the assignments for obtaining young pigs, as prescribed for 1980, and this includes the assignments for the first six months of the year. The reproduction of hogs must be organized so as to obtain the principal quantity of young pigs in the spring months in order that they may be fattened with fodder from the new harvest and sold before the end of the year. It is essential to minimize the use of meat for intraorganizational needs and to ban mining operations in the localities of low-weight cattle, especially calves.

Last year many calves and young pigs perished on the farms of Akmyanskiy, Raseynskiy, Mazheykskiy and Moletskiy rayons. The agriculture ministry must intensify the work of increasing the yield of calves and must take measures to reduce the number of substandard cows.

There is need to make maximum use of all the available reserves for replenishment of the fodder resources--coniferous meal and paste must be extensively used for cattle feed. We must not waste a single kilogram of food refuse or byproducts of the processing industry. The Council of Ministers must establish specific assignments for the collection of food wastes, these assignments to be in effect for the ministries of trade, of the food, meat and dairy industry, and of municipal services; also, for the Litpotrebsoyuz [Lithuanian Republic Union of Consumers' Societies] and the gorispolkoms. The Ministry of Agriculture must make provision for efficient use of these products.

Every organization and every farm must institute strict procedures and must wage a relentless struggle against irresponsibility, neglect and a compromising attitude in respect to the difficulties which arise. Unfortunately, as was revealed by a check on the wintering of cattle and by a discussion held in the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party on the work of the Raseynskiy party raykom, mismanagement is still with us. It is important to everywhere create an atmosphere which will make it intolerable.

We also have deficiencies in the organization of purchases of milk and cattle among the population.

An important mobilizing factor in the struggle for better production indicators in animal husbandry is the decree of the CPSU Central Committee, the Council of Ministers USSR, the AUCCTU, and the Central Committee of the Komsomol on "Development of All-Union socialist competition among the livestock breeding workers for increased production and procurement of animal husbandry products in the 1979-1980 winter period." It is necessary to

support and encourage the spirit of competition among the animal husbandry workers, to carry out widespread dissemination of advanced experience, and to create for the workers on the farms all the conditions conducive to successful fulfillment of the socialist obligations for the winter period.

We must concentrate our attention on strengthening the economic structure of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and we must everywhere struggle on behalf of a strict policy of thrift in all of them.

The CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and AUCCTU decree on "Further strengthening of labor discipline and reduction of personnel turnover in the national economy" again emphasizes the enormous importance of strict adherence to the Leninist principles of personnel work, stability of the work force, and firm labor discipline. In the current state of development of national production, when the economic relations have become quite complex and scientific-technical progress has been accelerated, these questions acquire paramount importance.

Violations of labor and state discipline lead to a falling off of the work results and a decline in the productivity of the labor and the quality of the output produced. Consequently, the party, soviet, economic, trade-union and Komsomol organs must adopt a comprehensive approach to the solution of the problems entailed in strengthening labor discipline and making effective use of the working time. They must make an in-depth study of the situation in the localities and they must work out and implement the measures needed for dealing with these problems. This work is considered one of the chief directions for putting into effect the party economic and social policy for increasing production efficiency and for inculcating a communist attitude toward labor.

In light of these substantial requirements, we are compelled to state that the status of labor discipline still constitutes a bottleneck for many of the sectors of the republic's national economy.

The principal cause of losses of working time is the turnover of personnel, which is still considerable, especially in industry. This is primarily true of the Kaunas reinforcement products plant, the Klaypeda sanitary engineering articles plant, the Shyaulyay beer combine Guberniya, and a number of others. Often the only cause of this is the poor labor conditions, the low level of production mechanization and automation, the inadequate attention given to increasing the vocational expertise of the young workers, and insufficient concern for the housing and living conditions of the workers.

It is necessary to take effective measures to step up the personal responsibility of the economic managers in regard to strengthening state and labor discipline and establishing good organization in production. We must not accept a situation wherein dozens of associations and enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhoses are for long periods of time unable to cope with their planned assignments and are guilty of mismanagement and inefficient expenditure of raw material, energy and working time.

One of the reasons for this wretched situation lies in the shortcomings in management. I want to here cite some of the most typical examples in this regard.

In the current five-year plan the Kaunas rubber articles plant Inkaras (director Comrade A. Bendoraytkas, party organization secretary Comrade V. Kupryavichus) is regularly failing to fulfill the planned assignments. The main reason is the fact that the plant has deemphasized the role of long-range planning and is not giving the proper amount of attention to a study of population demand, to expansion of the assortment and improvement of the quality of the output, to training of the personnel, the introduction of new technology, and to better use of the production areas and capacities. All this has brought the plant collective to a point where it is falling behind and not fulfilling the production plans for all the basic indicators. Of course, the blame for this falls primarily on the shoulders of the director, Comrade Bendoraytkas, and so the Pozhelskiy party raykom in the city of Kaunas took the correct action and, after discussing the situation, meted out severe punishment to the director.

For a number of years the Kaunas canned goods plant (director Comrade R. Stundzhya, party organization secretary Comrade G. Batiyeva) has been doing poor work. The Kaunas gorkom and the Ministry of the Food Industry repeatedly called the attention of the director to important mistakes in the management of the plant. But in 1979 too there was no change in the situation. The plan for production volume was not fulfilled. The personnel work was poorly handled. In the course of the year one-third of the workers were discharged from the plant.

These factors indicate that the party committees and the ministries and departments often bother with incompetent managers for an unreasonably long time and in vain. And sometimes they even move them from job to job. In such cases there is need to act more decisively and to replace those who are manifestly not performing their duties and are unable to correct the situation. It is necessary to be more daring in promoting young and energetic people who are capable of performing in a creative fashion.

It is the duty of the leaders of all the links and all the party organizations to apply the party principles in dealing with those who under various pretexts shirk their responsibility for the assigned tasks and for the execution of specific assignments and directives. It is important not only to make correct decisions but also to carry them out in strict fashion and to set high standards in the work and in the daily practical performance.

"The tasks which face us," as was emphasized by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "require, in particular, that we intensify our control over fulfillment of the planned assignments and the decisions taken. Otherwise, we will be compelled to return year after year to the same problems. On the basis of this need the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee will at its sessions

"listen more frequently to the comrades who are responsible for the various aspects of the work. The Council of Ministers USSR and the ministries and departments will, of course, do likewise. I hope that the party committees of the republics, krays and oblasts will draw the proper conclusions from what I have said." Drawing the necessary conclusions from this party directive is a matter of necessity not only for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania and the republic council of ministers, ministries and departments but also the party, soviet and economic organs in the localities.

We have begun the new year--the concluding year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the 110th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, and the 40th year since the establishment of Soviet rule in Lithuania. At the same time, we must understand that from the standpoint of economic development, this will be a most complex, difficult and critical year. Awareness of these circumstances makes us all duty bound to undertake the work from the very beginning with the maximum unity and organization.

And there is no doubt that the concluding year of the five-year plan will be marked by new great achievements and by successful implementation of our party's plans.

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REGIONAL

VAYNO, KLAUSON DETAIL ESTONIA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Vayno Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Feb 80 pp 1, 2, 3

[Speech by K. G. Vayno, 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian CP]

[Excerpts] Comrades! The successful implementation of the decisions of the 25th party congress, the demands of the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum and the republic working people's socialist pledges currently being adopted for 1980 will largely depend on our organizing and political work locally; on how the party committees, labor union and Komsomol organizations and soviet and economic bodies make use of the multifaceted forms and methods of management of the economy; and on the attention which is paid to improving the work style and developing initiative in the masses, an innovative approach and the ability to see ahead and create in each collective an atmosphere of businesslike efficiency and a clear understanding of the set tasks and the specific paths of achieving the scheduled goals.

The multifaceted and purposeful activity of our party's headquarters--the CPSU Central Committee and the entire Politburo headed by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev--represents the standard of a truly creative approach to the accomplishment of the tasks confronting us.

We have embarked in practice, K. Vayno continued, on implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum and the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1980 and elimination of those bottlenecks and shortcomings in the economy which Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev pointed out in his speech at the plenum.

The present year is unusual in many respects. It is, primarily, a Lenin jubilee year. The 110th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Il'ich will be celebrated as a grand nationwide holiday.

As pointed out in the report of Comrade V. I. Klauson and the speeches in the debate at the aktiv meeting today, the targets of the final year of the five-year plan are not easy. We have to raise the production and labor productivity growth rate considerably compared with last year, accomplish a

vast program of capital construction and raise agricultural production. It is not only a question of fulfilling but of going beyond the set plans--only in this case will be succeed in accomplishing the tasks confronting the republic.

Despite the fact that socialist pledges for the current year have been drawn up and adopted at practically all enterprises, in organizations and on farms of the republic, this work cannot be considered entirely completed.

The outline of the republic working people's socialist pledges for 1980 reflects potential in all sectors and each labor collective. However it is possible, given a creative approach to matters, to further discover considerable potential and possibilities for an improvement in work. It is necessary for each collective to examine again and again in proprietorial fashion how to organize work better in the year that has just begun and what still needs to be done in each job, in the shop, at the construction site and in the livestock section. We have major reserves both at the enterprises and in individual sectors of the republic's economy.

The fishermen, for whom last year was a turning point, are setting an example of the skillful use of the sector's inner potential. They fulfilled all the basic indicators of the 1979 plan ahead of schedule. More than 3.8 million cans and much other fish produce were produced above the quota.

The fishermen also worked well this January. Their principal task now is to consolidate what has been achieved. For this it is also essential to actively develop new fishing grounds and strive for fulfillment of the quotas by all ships of the fleet. The steady work of the fishermen is a guarantee of the successful fulfillment of the republic socialist pledges.

Or one further example. Recently in Kokhtla-Yarve the collective of the "Slantsekhim" Production Association imeni V. I. Lenin received from the construction workers a complex for the production of sulfuric acid for mineral fertilizers which had been installed in record time. Instead of the normative 34 months, it was built in 12. At a meeting held on 1 February the collective of maintenance engineers undertook under difficult winter conditions to bring sulfuric acid production to the point of stable operation by 1 March and to achieve established planned capacity by the anniversary of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's birth. This approach on the part of the collective, which bears the name of the great Lenin, corresponds to the requirements of the shock Leninist year. The collective took over the construction workers' good baton in businesslike manner under the motto "Built Ahead of Schedule, Assimilated Ahead of Schedule." This will be also a worthy contribution to the fulfillment of our socialist pledges. And it would not be a bad idea to record these pledges of the Kokhtla-Yarve workers as republic socialist pledges also.

The republic's industry as a whole has made a pretty good start this year. The mines are working steadily, and the power stations are fulfilling the prescribed power-generation schedules.

The plan for sold output in January was fulfilled 102.4 percent and 102.6 percent for gross output, and output worth R8 million was produced above the plan. However, seven enterprises failed to fulfill the sold output plans. These included, unfortunately, enterprises which are now chronic nonfulfillers of the plan--the "Vol'ta" Plant, the Maardu Chemical Plant and the "Eston-bumprom" Association. The Tallinskiy Gorkom and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Industrial-Transportation Department with the participation of union ministries must investigate the operation of these enterprises in depth and adopt exhaustive measures to rectify the situation. We cannot allow last year's failures to continue.

Consumer goods constitute an impressive proportion (almost half), K. Vayno continued, of the total industrial product here. It is well known what great significance the party attaches to expanding their production and increasing their quality. For this reason these questions must constantly be at the center of our attention. As has already been pointed out, consumer goods worth R47 million were produced in the republic in 1979 supplementary to the plan. This is good.

However, the quotas for the production of men's shirts (the "Sangar" Factory) and children's cotton [kolgotok] (the "Punane Koyt" Factory), steel enameled dishware and orchard and garden implements (the "Vazar" Association), household chemical agents (the "Flora" Association), beveled skis (the "Viysnurk" Wood-Processing Combine) and so forth remained unfulfilled. The following enterprises of union jurisdiction also remained in debt to the consumers: "the "Vol'ta," "Estoplast" and "Del'ta" plants, the "Prompribor" Association, the Arts Foundation and others. They failed to supply cultural-social and household commodities worth R10.5 million. Yet all these enterprises figure among those which fulfilled the plans. It would appear that we should salute them for having fulfilled the plans, but in actual fact they deserve serious criticism for failing to produce goods needed by the public.

A whole number of associations and enterprises is failing to fulfill the orders of the trading organizations in the time and assortment agreed in the contracts. Thus the biggest supplier of consumer goods--the Estonian SSR Ministry of Light Industry--fulfilled the sales plan with regard for supply obligations 99.4 percent and failed to supply R5 million worth of goods in constant demand. To our great regret, the "Krengol'mskaya manufaktura" Combine and the "Marat" Association, which we had grown accustomed to always seeing among the flagships of socialist competition, were also among those which failed to fulfill supplies in the prescribed assortment.

We are alerted also by the fact that of the ministry's 23 enterprises only 10 fulfilled the sales plan with regard for contractual obligations. This is an intolerable situation. A tightening of control and an increase in managers' personal responsibility is needed in this question.

Fulfillment of the plans of the development of the economy and the socialist pledges of the republic and also the creation of the essential reserve stocks for successful work in 1981 will largely depend on the results of the work

of the construction and installation organizations and the fulfillment of the pledges adopted by their collectives, K. Vayno observed. Last year for the first time in many years the republic fulfilled the plan for the assimilation of capital investments and the volume of construction and installation work. The construction of the majority of planned projects was completed.

Despite all the tautness of the present year's construction work, it has to be noted that they are practicable not only as a whole but also from an individual construction organization angle. And this means that the construction and installation organizations can and must insure the timely introduction of all planned projects--large and small.

It is now very important from the first days of the year to direct the efforts of the construction workers toward fulfillment of the construction program, preventing the now-customary all conceivable "swings." After all, it is not secret that rush work is the rule in the month of December at many construction projects nearing completion and that, nevertheless, as a rule, the construction workers are still 1 or 2 weeks short of completing all work and handing over the project fully completed. One involuntarily asks: where and on what are these 10 or 12 work days which have led to rush work and all kinds of outlays lost during the year or the entire period of construction of this project or the other? There is just one answer: in a lack of organization.

Some 5,000 square meters of housing, preschool establishments for more than 1,500 children, schools for 776 students and also 640 hospital beds and certain other facilities were not instituted last year because of a lack of time.

The managers of the construction organizations must constantly bear in mind that days lost and opportunities missed at the start of the year are difficult to make good at the end. Intensiveness must be created from the first days of the year. January's preliminary results indicate that our construction workers have begun the present year better than the last. However, the inadequate capacities of the Estonian SSR Ministry of Construction's "Santekhmontazh" Trust and the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work "Sevzapelektromontazh" Trust's Estonian Installation Administration are causing concern. Without losing any time, it is necessary to adopt measures to strengthen these organizations, on whose work the successful fulfillment of the program of projects to be inaugurated this year and the adopted pledges largely depends.

Recently, K. Vayno continued, a great deal of attention has been paid to the operation of the transport organizations. Exactingness toward the personnel has increased, and the organizations have been rendered greater assistance. Today it may be said that the collective of Estonian railroad workers led by Comrade S. D. Gladyshev is drawing the correct conclusions from the high demands. The situation has begun to improve somewhat.

The freight-haulage plan was fulfilled 100.9 percent in January, and industry, construction and all sectors of the republic are aware of this improvement. Nevertheless, there are no grounds for complacency. The railroad workers have still not properly found the principal reserve of an improvement in work--an acceleration of car turn-around time. Today it is proposed to adopt a taut pledge--reducing car-turn-around time by 5 hours in 1980. This is a very important feature of the pledges since it is the equivalent of freeing approximately 150,000 cars for additional freight handling. Fulfillment of this feature of the pledges should be underpinned by concrete measures of the railroad line and its services and also by clientele. And there is plenty to work on. Here are a few examples. Thus the cars for shipping grain from the port are marshaled empty in a small number in Tallin from all stations of our republic. Yet at the same time their technical suitability for grain is not determined in advance locally. The cars are inspected in Tallin. Thus, after having come a long way, it transpires that about half the cars are unsuitable for this purpose. I believe that the railroad workers could have determined the cars' suitability for grain locally and not driven them fruitlessly to Tallin and hereby improved the delivery resources.

And another example: cars carrying metal for the "Vazar" Enterprise arrived in mid-January. While aware that cars with such freight cannot be handled manually, the railroad freight-haulage department sent them to the Liyva Station, where there is no unloading machinery. As a result of this formal, thoughtless addressing the cars stood idle for 17 days at the Liyva Station instead of the norm of 6 hours. No comment, as they say.

Motor transport improved its work somewhat last year. All 18 truck stations coped with the haulage plan, and the plan of this January was also fulfilled. However, the work of motor transport must improve continuously since transportation requirements are not yet being fully met, and the motor transport workers have many resources for this.

Workers of all forms of transportation must clearly understand that the successful fulfillment of the republic's socialist pledges will largely depend on their efficient work.

Now about the agricultural workers' immediate tasks. The stall-nursing period of stabling livestock began in organized fashion here as a whole, and the results of the 3 months thereof are pretty good. In the period October-December the stock breeders raised the average per cow milk yield by 78 kilos compared with the final quarter of 1978, which enabled us to reach the 1978 level in milk yield. And according to preliminary data, the milk yield this January increased by 28 kilos compared with last January. This rate in the livestock sections is reasonably good, and we must struggle to insure that it is maintained through the end of the wintering period.

A strained situation has come about here this winter in respect of the fodder balance, and maintaining a high rate of production is not an easy matter. The main thing is for each farm to perform concrete and persistent work to improve the preparation of fodder for feeding and insure the intelligent use of every kilo of it. The farms which will experience an acute shortage of fodder must find with the help of the rayon authorities ways to additionally acquire hay, straw, silage and potatoes from other farms or purchase surpluses from the public. It is undoubtedly necessary to continue to procure and add leafy fodder to the rations.

As calculations show, the farms should have sufficient coarse and succulent fodder until the pasturing period, and the dairy herd is being provided with concentrated fodder. However, there will be insufficient concentrated fodder on a number of farms for livestock undergoing fattening. Therefore it is possible that hogs will have to be sold in places at a lower weight than usual. This decision or the other will depend on the specific situation on each farm, but every farm has opportunities for increased livestock productivity on the basis of the skillful use of fodder.

It is important to be able to commission all available resources and equip ourselves with the experience of the advanced farms. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau recently approved the experience of work of the party organization and board of Vil'yandiskiy Rayon's "Vambola" Kolkhoz to achieve a high and stable level of production in the five-year plan. Even under unfavorable weather conditions this farm has for years been cultivating and gathering big harvests: 39.4 quintals of grain and 265 quintals of potatoes per hectare of sown area in 1978 and 41 and 310 quintals respectively in 1979. The farm pays great attention to questions of socialist competition and an increase in its efficacy. The kolkhoz has put up reliable barriers in the path of violators of socialist discipline, and not one instance of laxity and misconduct goes unremarked.

The "Vambola" Kolkhoz's example shows once again what big potential there is in agriculture in pulling up the laggards to the level of the pacesetters.

It is essential to determine on each farm right now what specifically has to be done to achieve the guaranteed provision of the livestock with fodder in the current year. It is also necessary to cater ahead of time for organization of the pastures and the summer camps for fattening the livestock on cheap soiling food and for the introduction of rations with an economical and, where possible, the least content of grain fodder.

The successful fulfillment of our socialist pledges will depend on the results of the wintering of the livestock and the timely and high-quality preparations for spring-field work in the countryside.

It is well known that success does not come of its own accord. It is achieved as a result of an increase in the efficiency of organizing and political work

in the labor collectives. Practice convinces us that the degree of party influence in areas of economic building is the more effective, the more active is the work of the primary party organizations.

At the same time plans are disrupted most often when the party committees lose sight of questions of supervision and the verification of fulfillment, fail to exhibit due exactingness toward managers, make a poor study of the state of affairs locally, fail to display the necessary persistence in insuring the strictest observance of plan discipline and do not monitor the fulfillment of adopted decisions, counterplans and socialist pledges.

The party organization of the "Estonianets" Production Association may serve as an example [of the successful mobilization of resources]. The communists here are in the decisive sectors and are constantly seeking production potential. They have put forward many valuable proposals aimed at improving the organization of labor and increasing its productivity and reducing the production costs of the extracted shale. These questions are discussed in depth and with interest at party and worker meetings and at permanent production conferences. The purposefulness, efficiency and the vanguard role of party members in the labor and training of the collective are producing palpable results. For many years the association's collective has been working steadily and successfully fulfilling the state plans and socialist pledges. In the 4 years of the 10th Five-Year Plan labor productivity in shale extraction increased 10 percent here, and over 8 million tons of shale were extracted above the plan.

The power engineers of the Estonian GRES are working successfully. This collective's achievements are not the result of a sporadic takeoff but a constant aspiration to be ahead and to accomplish economic and social tasks purposefully. Consumers were supplied with more than 10 billion kilowatt-hours of power in a year here for the first time in 1979.

An ability to think and solve questions in the new way, see the future and evaluate any matter from the standpoint of the ultimate national economic impact--these are characteristic features in the work of the power station's management and party committee. The practice of defending shop socialist pledges in the station's party committee is an effective form of party influence on the work of the shops and departments here.

However, not all of the republic's labor collectives have succeeded in progressing as planned: overcoming the force of inertia and switching work decisively in the direction of quality and the achievement of the best final results.

It has already been pointed out that there was a deterioration of the situation concerning fulfillment of the plan for the scheduled product list compared with 1978. Of the 160 most important products, the plan was fulfilled for only 88 of them. The number of enterprises which failed to fulfill the labor productivity growth plans tripled.

All this testifies that the gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations in a whole number of collectives are failing to exert due party influence on the solution of these questions.

It is abnormal, for example, that in 1979 the bureau of Tallinn's Morskii Raykom did not examine questions concerning the progress of fulfillment by the rayon's enterprises and organizations of the plan quotas and socialist pledges. There was insufficient study of questions concerning the monitoring of the fulfillment of decisions adopted earlier.

The pledges of individual farms are as yet being analyzed only rarely and not always in depth in certain raykoms (the Raplaskiy, Khar'yuskiy and others). The experience and initiative of the advanced livestock sections, brigades and individual production pacesetters with respect to the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of adopted pledges is being collated and propagandized poorly. It is sufficient to say that in 1979 many party committees did not once examine the creative undertakings and initiatives of the pacesetters of kolkhoses, sovkhoses, livestock sections and brigades with respect to the successful fulfillment of socialist pledges. Nor is the organizing role of the rayon agricultural labor union committees in evidence here.

The gorkoms and raykoms, K. Vayno pointed out, must monitor on a more current basis the course of fulfillment of the plans and socialist pledges at bureau sessions, aktiv conferences and party meetings of enterprises and organizations and render them the necessary assistance.

Unremitting gorkom and raykom attention should be paid to the work of the transport organizations. Much will depend on the joint well-organized work of the transportation workers and the clientele. Discipline among those working in transportation must be appreciably strengthened. The transportation workers are currently in acute need of assistance and support on the part of the party organizations.

Practice shows that big losses occur in the construction process at the "intersections" of its numerous participants. It would seem essential that the gorkoms and raykoms make more extensive use of the experience of the development of comprehensive competition in accordance with the "worker's baton" principle, when an installation contract concluded by all participants in the construction and mutual obligations are an effective instrument of the development of labor activeness and initiative and coordinated actions, experience which has given a good account of itself. The party committees also are called on to constantly keep at the center of their attention questions of capital construction in the cities and rayons and to influence more actively the state of affairs in this important and complex sector.

We should mention, for example, the Tallinskiy Gorkom, which this year has created headquarters for directing the course of construction. The Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Gorkom also has positive experience in this field.

To increase supervision and render assistance the time has evidently come to set up worker coordinating groups or commissions for the construction of light industry projects and also cultural, public health and education facilities, that is, where a lagging has been observed here for a number of years now.

The party committees should attach particular significance to questions of further strengthening labor discipline and reducing personnel turnover in the national economy, as recently demanded by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree.

Not all business managers and public organizations have drawn the necessary conclusions from this decree. As before, there are numerous occasions when people are idle owing to poor labor organization, people having left work early, lateness and absence for personal business. The practice of the public organizations' laying claim to the working people during work time for meetings, conferences and various seminars, training sessions, rehearsals, lectures and political-information days continues. It is necessary to break these habits of a casual attitude toward work time which have taken root decisively and as quickly as possible.

There is no doubt that the forthcoming Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet and local soviet elections will demonstrate anew the close cohesion of the working people of Soviet Estonia around the Lenin Party.

In conclusion K. Vayno expressed the firm confidence that the communists and all working people of Soviet Estonia would apply all their efforts, knowledge and experience to honorably fulfill the adopted socialist pledges, greet the forthcoming elections with labor successes, worthily commemorate the Lenin jubilee and the 40th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in Estonia and make 1980 a year of shock Leninist work.

Klauson Report

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Feb 80 pp 1, 2, 3

[Report by V. I. Klauson, Representative of the Council of Ministers, Estonian SSR]

[Excerpts] Comrades! Our country has embarked on the final year of the 10th Five-Year Plan, and all labor collectives have extensively developed socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the tasks ensuing from the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress with respect to the five-year plan of the Soviet Union's socioeconomic development and for a worthy greeting of the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth.

A great deal of work has been done in the country since the start of the five-year plan to implement the party's economic and social program formulated at the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses.

At the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made an in-depth Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of our country's economy in the preceding years of the five-year plan and of the urgent problems to be solved in 1980 and in subsequent years and clearly determined the main directions in work, observing that 1980 is not only the final year of the five-year plan but also the basis on which the next five-year plan will be built.

Having interpreted the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November Plenum as a combat action program, the republic's labor collectives have begun 1980 in shock fashion, aspiring to insure the successful fulfillment of the state quotas, counterplans and socialist pledges. The January plan for industrial production was fulfilled 102.6 percent, with an increase of 6.6 percent compared with the previous January. Some 15 and 16 percent respectively more meat and eggs than in the previous January were procured. And today, adopting the republic socialist pledges for 1980, I would like to say a few words about competition results in the preceding years.

Collectives of the cities of Tallinn Kokhtla-Yarve and Tartu and Vil'yandiskiy, Pyarnuskiy, Tartuskiy, Vyruskiy, Paydeskiy, Kingiseppskiy and Khaapsaluskiy rayons coped better than others with the fulfillment of socialist pledges for above-plan sales of industrial products.

Furniture worth R1.3 million, 2.6 million square meters of cloth, garments worth R3.2 million, more than 11,000 tons of fish food products, 464 tons of confectionary products and 4.4 million standard cans of food were produced for the public above the plan and socialist pledges.

The gross agricultural product increased more than 7 percent (almost 10 percent on the kolkhozes and state farms), including a 15-percent increase in farming produce and a 3.6-percent increase in animal husbandry products, in 1979 compared with 1978.

The first half of last year was difficult for livestock raising. There was a deceleration in the increase in the livestock herd during the last wintering period and a reduction in its productiveness. But thanks to the additional allocation to the republic of fodder and the measures adopted by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, the republic government, local party and soviet authorities and farm managers and party organizations, the situation in livestock raising was normalized in the second half, and livestock productiveness increased. More meat and milk were produced than in the second half of 1978, and the population's provision with meat products improved. The supernumerary numbers of livestock and poultry had increased as of 1 January 1980.

The procurement of fodder and the harvesting in 1979 were carried out under better conditions than in 1978, and almost 1.5 times more on-farm fodder was procured. The plans for sowing winter crops and lifting the under-winter fallow were overfulfilled.

The plan of state capital investments was fulfilled 103 percent in 1979. Facilities and capacities of a value of R630 million--7 percent more than in 1978--were commissioned thanks to state capital investments. Apartment houses with a total area of 740,000 square meters, general educational schools for 5,624 students, preschool establishments for 2,270 children and 630 hospital beds were introduced.

National income increased almost 5.8 percent, which testifies both to an increase in the amount of material production and to its increased efficiency thanks to the more economical use of material resources. The republic has overfulfilled the target of 4 years of the five-year plan for this most important indicator. The population's real income per capita increased 3.7 percent in 1979, and payments and allowances from the public consumption funds increased 4.6 percent.

The plan for the commodity turnover of state and cooperative trade was overfulfilled, showing a growth of 5 percent in comparable prices compared with 1978. The plan for consumer services was fulfilled 101 percent, with a growth of 5 percent. The socialist pledges with respect to these indicators were overfulfilled.

Such are the main results of the fulfillment of the plans of socioeconomic development and the socialist pledges for 197--the fourth year of the five-year plan--and the successes here are manifest. But while speaking of successes we cannot remain silent about serious shortcomings in our activity and unfulfilled socialist pledges.

In industry the principal shortcomings are underfulfilled quotas and pledges with respect to labor productivity growth. In industry the growth for 4 years was planned at 16.6 percent, but constituted 15 percent. Almost one-third of operating enterprises failed to meet contractual supply obligations, the losses from shoddy work are high, there are many shortcomings in the use of raw materials and goods and the pledges with respect to the production of instruments and means of automation, nitrogenous and phosphorus fertilizers, cement, hosiery and others were unfulfilled. The ministries of construction materials industry and meat and dairy industry, the Ministry of Construction and the "Estonbumprom" Association failed to fulfill the annual plan for gross industrial output. These ministries have reason to cite objective causes, but we have even more reason to censure the leaders of these ministries and associations for having failed to adopt all necessary measures to take advantage of available potential for improving the activity of their sectors.

Of the 15 comprehensive socialist pledges of the workers of agriculture, procurements and reclamation, only 4 were completely fulfilled.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet 13th Session, V. Klauson continued, adopted the State Plan of Economic and Social Development of the republic in 1980.

This plan is taut, but practicable if correct use is made of available potential. "Whatever area of work we take, tremendous opportunities and tremendous potential for successful advancement can be seen everywhere," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the CPSU Central Committee November Plenum. It is to this potential and the organization of competition for its skillful use that I would like to draw your attention.

The situation in the sphere of the even distribution of production quotas and their fulfillment within the confines of the year, quarters and months is only improving slowly here. The lack of rhythm in work is leading to a deterioration in the quality of products, an increase in overtime work, rush work and a deterioration in the moral climate in the collectives. We hear many legitimate complaints about the transport organizations, but the normalization of their work largely depends on the rhythmic operation in industry.

The party-economic aktiv meetings which were held in the ministries and departments made a detailed investigation of the shortcomings in work and of the ways to overcome them. It is now necessary to insure the implementation of the decisions adopted at these aktiv meetings and to implement effective measures insuring the unconditional fulfillment of the quotas and contractual obligations in the agreed assortment and within the established period of time. For this it is necessary to raise the level of operations planning and management, develop direct economic relations between related subcontracting enterprises, associations and organizations, insure the fulfillment of the schedules of freight-handling operations and so forth.

A most important task confronting the republic's industry in the current year is the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan for the production of consumer goods. Whereas in 1979 their production increased by R82 million, in the current year the plan envisages a production increase of more than R100 million. To cater for the growing public demand the socialist pledges provide for the production of R20 million worth of consumer goods in excess of the plan. But this will far from cover the growth in effective demand.

And nevertheless, we must seek out additional possibilities of increasing the production of consumer goods. To this end it is essential that the enterprises make fuller and more economical use of all types of raw material, particularly local raw material resources, including usable production process remnants and secondary raw material.

The Estonian SSR Ministry of Local Industry, Ministry of Timber and Wood Processing Industry and Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, which produce the bulk of consumer goods, and also many enterprises of union jurisdiction are unsatisfactorily fulfilling party and government instructions concerning an expansion of the production of these commodities thanks to local sources of raw material and also production remnants.

In accomplishing the task of an increase in consumer goods production it is also necessary to improve the use of equipment at enterprises of local, food and light industry and enlist craftsmen working at home more extensively. I would like to see kolkhoz and sovkhos subsidiary enterprises taking a more active part in this important work. The entire system of material stimulation and moral incentive should be geared to the accomplishment of this task.

The shortcomings in the organization of labor and production and, at times, irresponsibility and indiscipline are leading to big losses of work time and personnel turnover.

In fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "A Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and a Reduction in Personnel Turnover in the National Economy" the ministries and departments and association, enterprise and organization managers should adopt measures to institute due order and insure the full utilization of work time. It is necessary for this to make a more purposeful study of questions of the organization and norming of labor and the strengthening of labor discipline.

Losses of work time are often connected with the work hours of enterprises of the services sphere. Despite repeated directives and decrees concerning regulation of the work of sales and consumer service enterprises and other forms of service in the interests of the public, proper order has not yet been instituted here. To take just the following example: Energosbyt and Gortopsbyt establishments, "Estontara" construction materials stores and the city's sole notary's office operate in Tallin and they are open on work days only until 1630 hours.

The gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms and also the ministries and departments must, finally, institute order here very quickly.

In speaking of potential we have to mention the losses caused by great personnel turnover.

Measures to mechanize labor are being implemented very slowly. Thus in the last 10 years the percentage of workers doing their job with the help of machinery and mechanisms has only risen from 43 to 49 percent at machine-building and metal-working enterprises.

Despite the difficulties caused by the poor crop of 1978, in the 4 years of the five-year plan which have elapsed an average annual gross production growth of 12 percent was achieved in agriculture. Average annual production of grain increased 26 percent, of livestock and poultry 23 percent, milk 7.4 percent and eggs 9.6 percent compared with the Ninth Five-Year plan.

There was an appreciable increase in the sale to the state of the main types of agricultural product.

However, as a result of having received a large quantity of agricultural equipment and of the implementation of a considerable construction program the average annual rate of increase of agriculture's fixed production capital constituted 607 percent, and this was double the increase in output.

It is therefore logical that the targets for the development of agriculture determined by the plan for 1980 and the socialist pledges of the workers of the countryside envisage with respect to the basic indicators a considerably higher production growth rate than achieved in the first 4 years of the current five-year plan.

The republic's agriculture has the potential for meeting these high targets if use is made of all resources, the efforts of all laborers of the countryside and those who work therein are mobilized and if serious organizational work is performed.

Where are these resources to be found? Primarily in raising the lagging farms to the level of the average farms, and the average farms to the level of the pacesetters. We can no longer be reconciled to the big discrepancy in work results and the use of basic production resources which have developed in neighboring rayons and even farms, where weather conditions are almost identical. For example, in 1978 Rakvereskiy Rayon produced 277 quintals of meat (liveweight) and 886 quintals of milk per 100 hectares of cultivated land and gross output of R910 per hectare, whereas with the same quality of land the corresponding indicators in Tartuskiy Rayon were 179 quintals, 707 quintals and R680, that is, the returns from the land were correspondingly 54, 25 and 34 percent lower.

Nor did the situation improve in 1979, when the kolkhozes' and sovkhoses' sale of livestock and poultry to the state fell 6 percent compared with 1978 in Tartuskiy Rayon and increased 1.5 percent in Rakvereskiy Rayon. It should be said, moreover, that Tartuskiy Rayon has more fixed production capital per hectare of cultivated land even than Rakvereskiy Rayon.

What do these comparisons indicate? First, that if agricultural efficiency in Tartuskiy Rayon were at the Rakvereskiy Rayon level, almost 10,000 tons more meat would have been sold to the republic in the 2 years, and this is approximately 12 percent of the republic population's annual consumption. Second, these comparisons indicate that in a five-year plan of an increase in work efficiency and quality our agricultural bodies, local soviets and party organizations and scientific establishments still have much unfinished work. We often travel out of the republic to study the experience of the advanced farms and their methods of production management and organization, but our analysis of our activity and dissemination of progressive experience is poor. I believe that the results of the socialist competition of the agricultural workers would reach a new height if the slogans "Not a Single Laggard Alongside," "Not a Single Lagging Livestock Section on the Farm" and "Not a Single Lagging Farm in the Rayon" became the concrete actions of

all rayon leaders and all workers of the countryside and if the republic agricultural authorities and workers of the scientific institutes of the Ministry of Agriculture took an active part here.

The present livestock wintering on the kolkhozes and sovkhoses has begun reasonably well. Livestock productiveness in the fourth quarter of 1979 was appreciably higher than in 1978. The position on 1 January 1980 compared with the same date of the previous year with respect to provision of public livestock with on-farm fodder per standard head showed an increase (in feed units) of 35 percent, including a 70-percent increase in concentrated feed, a 3.8-fold increase in potatoes and a 6-10-percent increase all told in hay, haylage and silage.

At the same time the experience of recent years has shown that many farms are still paying insufficient attention to the production, procurement, storage and, particularly, the preparation for feeding of their own fodder, counting on obtaining it from state resources. There is currently no more important task in the countryside than the careful, intelligent use of all available fodder on the farm. It is necessary to extensively propagandize and persistently introduce the experience of the advanced farms in preparing the fodder for feeding, find opportunities of reinforcing available fodder stocks and prevent a fall in animal productiveness. It is necessary to prepare right now for the efficient use of soiling food and for the procurement of high-quality fodder for the coming wintering.

In their socialist pledges the kolkhoz and sovkhos laborers have undertaken to procure in 1980 for the stall-nursing period on each kolkhoz and sovkhos no less than 1,500 feed units of high-quality on-farm fodder per standard head of stock. This is a good pledge. We must strive for its unconditional fulfillment.

A reduction in murrain represents big potential for an increase in the production of livestock-raising products.

The considerable amount of land-reclamation work which has been performed in the republic, the level of the capital- and power-output ratio and also the availability of highly skilled personnel are a good basis for fulfilling the quotas of the annual plan and socialist pledges with respect to the production of plant-growing products.

The plans for winter sowing and late-fall plowing were overfulfilled last fall. The republic's farms possess reasonably good seed material.

The struggle against losses, which are still considerable here even in field-crop cultivation, should be a most important resource for fulfilling the agricultural product quotas and an area of socialist competition. Every year the republic loses quintals of grain and potatoes per hectare, for example, owing to the disrepair of the harvesting equipment and the nonobservance of the optimum sowing and harvesting periods.

And in field-crop cultivation also pulling the lagging farms up to the level of the average farms represents a major resource for an increase in agricultural production.

It is common knowledge that transportation is operating with great shortcomings in the country as a whole. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev revealed the reasons for this at the CPSU Central Committee November (1979) Plenum and recommended a number of urgent steps to insure that the situation in transportation change for the better very quickly. All these recommendations apply in full to the operation of all forms of transport in our republic.

As in previous years also, much freight is being delivered to the customers unsatisfactorily. At the same time industrial, construction, and trading enterprises are failing to insure the timely loading and unloading of the cars and motor vehicles.

In examining our socialist pledges today we must say clearly that the transportation workers are obliged to put all subdivisions in order immediately, strengthen discipline and drive in all sections and raise the level of mechanization of freight-handling operations. Particular attention must be paid to a fundamental improvement in the organization of shipments and their more intelligent planning, and the recipients of the freight are obliged to insure the rapid handling of the rolling stock. It is necessary to broaden competition between the transportation workers and their clients.

Together with certain successes achieved last year, capital construction still has many shortcomings. Labor productivity has only been growing slowly in construction for a long time now, which is basically caused by shortcomings in the organization of construction production, low labor discipline and considerable losses of work time. Only 4 of the 10 contracting organizations directly subordinate to the Estonian SSR Ministry of Construction met the labor productivity growth target.

To secure the labor productivity growth in 1980 envisaged by the plan it is essential that the construction workers implement concrete measures aimed at perfecting the techniques of construction production, improving the use of means of mechanization, reducing the amount of manual labor, applying rational forms of organization and progressive forms of remuneration of the workers and reducing losses of work time and personnel turnover.

The situation concerning observance of normative construction times in the republic is unsatisfactory. The time period for the construction of the "Vazar" Tin Products Shop in Tapa, a gradual-reduction mill of the Keyla Experimental Bread Products Combine, a production building of the Tartu "Sangar" Garment Factory, shops of the Maardu Chemical Plant and others was overrun by a factor of 1.5-2.5. Disruption of the established times for the introduction of the above facilities alone led to an overall shortfall of industrial output of more than R50 million.

It is necessary to assimilate R760 million of capital investment in 1980 from all sources of financing. A considerable reduction in the amount of incomplete construction and a big increase in the commissioning of facilities and capacity is planned.

The struggle to economize on material-technical resources, particularly energy resources, must occupy an important place in competition. Thus serious instances of remiss management in the use of thermal energy were detected in the "Estonbumprom" and "Leybur" associations and at the Tallin Fruit Drink Plant.

Meeting the set targets for economizing on material resources demands that the most serious attention be paid to this question from the first days of the year.

I would like to advise our efficiency experts and enterprise and labor union organization leaders to pay greater attention in their activity to the most efficient use of material resources, fuel, thermal and electric power, raw material, intermediate products, fodder and much else.

The republic's kolkhozes and sovkhoses have now joined extensively in the all-union socialist competition of stockbreeders for an increase in the production and procurement of livestock-raising products in the 1979-1980 winter period.

We are carrying out plan-based work to disseminate and introduce progressive experience and valuable undertakings like the experience of the Shchekino workers, the initiative of the Sumy Machine-Building Production Association for the better use of production capacity, the practice of the Moscow "Dinamo" Electrical Engineering Plant imeni S. M. Kirov in organizing competition on the basis of the personal (brigade) production plans of the workers, brigade financial autonomy in construction and the brigade organization of labor in industry. But it is evidently necessary to introduce the experience of our frontrunners, particularly of agriculture, even more actively.

An atmosphere of high exactingness, organization, daily control and publicity and a creative attitude toward matters in all areas of our work and in each production collective, V. Klauson said in conclusion, are the most important ingredients of success in the noble nationwide movement represented by the working people's adoption and fulfillment of socialist pledges for the current year of 1980.

The year of 1980 is that of active preparations for our party's 26th congress. It is very important to organize our work in the pregress period such that the working people of Soviet Estonia may report to the congress on the successful completion of the five-year plan as a whole and on their readiness to continue to give all their efforts for the creation of the material-technical base of communism. I would like to express my confidence that the working people of the republic, together with the whole Soviet people, will honorably accomplish the tasks set for 1980.

REGIONAL

BELORUSSIAN MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS INTERVIEWED

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 26 Jan 80 p 4

[Interview with the Belorussian SSR Minister of Internal Affairs, General-Major of Internal Service G. N. Zhabitskiy by V. Levin: "Protecting the Law"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Minister! At the present time state organs and public organizations have considerably intensified their efforts to further strengthen socialist legality, eliminate crime and its causes and to educate the workers in legal norms. These efforts have increased in scope especially after the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Improving Work to Protect the Rule of Law and Intensifying the Struggle against Violations." What have been the results of these joint efforts?

[Answer] In our socialist society with its dynamically developing economy, continuously increasing material and cultural level of the people--stated G. N. Zhabitskiy--all the conditions needed for developing the creative abilities of every person, manifesting his initiative and for his professional and spiritual growth have been created. An entire package of measures for improving legislation and the work of law-enforcement organs and increasing the public's role in protecting the rule of law has already been accomplished.

Drunkenness and alcoholism are being methodically and persistently combatted; in addition crime prevention work among youth is being improved. Offenses against socialist property, parasitism, profiteering and bribery are being combatted with greater intensity. Instilling in people a high level of respect for the law is acquiring an ever greater significance.

All of this creates conditions needed for eradicating crime.

An individual's behavior should be determined not by his fear of punishment for illegal acts but by his profound personal convictions. Our laws, based on the USSR Constitution, are the most humane and just. Important Party documents adopted recently stipulate well-defined measures for increasing the role of state, economic and public organs and the discipline and responsibility of officials and every citizen for the strict observance of the

requirements of legal norms and the principles of socialist society. This was indicated at the November (1979) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The decree of the CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU "On the Further Strengthening of Labor Discipline and the Reduction of Labor Turnover in the Economy."

[Question] A comprehensive approach to educating people in legal norms is the main method used in preventing violations, protecting public order and combatting crime. Well-defined forms of this work have been taking shape in the republic. Could you tell us about some of them?

[Answer] First and foremost is the emphasis given to relying on the workers themselves and the public. Today approximately 8,500 voluntary people's patrols including 400,000 people are today our faithful helpers. They patrol the streets, assist State Automotive Inspectorate personnel on the roads, search for and apprehend criminals along with regular police, perform spot-checks to combat mismanagement and thefts of socialist property and engage in educational work with young people. These patrols are controlled directly by the local Councils of People's Deputies.

An important role is played by public law-enforcement stations. The republic has over two thousand of them. Deputy groups, voluntary people's patrols, inspection offices for minors' affairs, comrades' courts and agitational collectives work in close cooperation with one another.

Along with Party organizations such stations plan and implement individual educational work for problem families as well as for persons inclined to violate the rules of socialist society. Thus, the potential for reacting speedily to a specific situation in an apartment house, neighborhood unit, village and for taking effective measures to prevent all kinds of extraordinary occurrences is increasing.

[Question] Crime Prevention Councils have recently been created on the initiative of the work collectives. How effective are they?

[Answer] There are more than 5,000 such organizations at enterprises, construction sites and kolkhozes. As the name itself suggests, they supplement the established crime prevention system. The creation of these councils in the work collectives has considerably improved individual work with absentees, loafers, drunks and rowdies. One could cite as a positive example the Gomel' machine-building, the Minsk computer and heating equipment plants, the Novopolotsk "Polimir" association and a number of Pinsk enterprises.

The Crime Prevention Councils whose members include the most respected people--representatives of management, Party, trade union and komsomol committees, chairmen of the work team councils and labor veterans--skillfully use moral and material incentives in their work. Here not only do

wrongdoers get what they deserve, but a wholesome moral climate which promotes high labor discipline and improvement in the quality of work is also created.

[Question] Gennadiy Nikolayevich, I would like to acquaint you with the contents of one of our letters. It was sent by a forest nursery worker in the Baranovichi Rayon Aleksandr Denishchik. "I am 20 years old--he writes--and my three brothers and I spent half of that time on the street because our father constantly drank and behaved outrageously. Our thanks to people that they did not ignore our plight. But when can we put an end to this vice?"

[Answer] A disturbing letter. The police also receive many such letters. In fact a majority of crimes is committed in just such a state of intoxication. Injuries and defective products in industry, absenteeism and other violations of labor discipline, which cause society great harm, are associated with drunkenness. It undermines one's health, negatively affects growing children and destroys families.

Unfortunately, this problem continues to be a major one. The medical records of health-care offices contain the names of a large number of chronic alcoholics, many of whom have been sent for compulsory treatment. Drivers who take to the bottle represent a particular danger. Suffice it to say that every other accident in kolkhozes and sovkhozes results from intoxicated drivers and machine operators. Experience has clearly shown that drunkenness does not disappear by itself. Changes in psychology and thinking as well as overcoming bad habits and traditions are needed to eradicate it. What is needed is a whole package of social-economic, administrative-legal, medical and, of course, educational measures.

The work collectives need to be rallied to combat drunkenness and alcoholism, as has been done at the Minsk production associations "Integral" and "Gorizont," the Mogilev "Strommashina" plant and the Vitebsk machine-tool plant. An atmosphere of intolerance of drunks, absentees and labor discipline violators had been created in these work collectives. Groups which have taken under their wing potential alcohol abusers exist in all shops. However, there are enterprises and organizations where drunks are protected in every way, given outstanding performance appraisals and even awards. The time has come to take supervisors to task over the state of educational work in the same way that they bear responsibility for plan fulfillment.

[Question] A final question. Experience indicates that labor discipline is low where the level of educating workers in legal and moral norms of behavior are low. Some people even trespass against the holy of holies--socialist property.

[Answer] Yes, this is true. It is no accident that people say that thieves and cheats feel they have a free hand where valuables go unprotected. And where finished products and raw materials are not safeguarded the hand of

the thief reaches for national wealth. I would like to remind you of the words of V. I. Lenin who said about cheats: "...they are the main enemies of socialism; these enemies should be placed under the special supervision of the entire populace; they must receive their just deserts for the slightest violation by them of the rules and laws of socialist society. Any weakness, any wavering, any softness in this regard would be a grave crime against socialism."

Systematic cases of theft are nonetheless uncovered in such branches as procurement, the meat and dairy, the food industry, agriculture, commerce, the service industry, consumer cooperatives, construction. There are all kinds of dubious persons employed in these fields. The danger of such crimes lies not only in the fact that we lose national wealth. This has a disruptive effect on people and subverts their morality.

In general, there are plenty of problems faced by our organizations. We can effectively combat criminals, hooligans, drunkards, parasites and undercut them only through the joint efforts of administrative organs, the public and all the people.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

BOOK ATTACKS BALTIC EMIGRES' ACTIVITIES

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 15 Mar 80 p 3

[Review entitled "Behind-the-Scenes Imperialism" by Candidate of Historical Sciences R. Treys of the book "Baltic Reactionary Emigration Today" edited by Academician V. A. Shteynberg, Izdatel'stvo Zinatne, Riga, 1979]

[Text] Reactionary groups of Baltic bourgeois-nationalist emigres participate in all of Washington's actions aimed at undermining detente and aggravating international tensions. It was no accident that at a reception on the occasion of his assumption of the presidency J. Carter went out of his way to be photographed with each of the "diplomatic representatives" of the former bourgeois governments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, who no longer represent anybody. He also made some statements in support of the appropriate emigre groups from the Baltic area.

The Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian anti-Soviet emigres serve imperialism faithfully. This is convincingly discussed in a book by a group of scholars of the Soviet republics entitled "Baltic Reactionary Emigration Today" published by the Zinatne Publishing House and edited by Academician V. A. Shteynberg. An attempt to give a general analysis of the activities of the reactionary Baltic emigre groups in the capitalist world has been undertaken for the first time. This is particularly important under the conditions of the current severe ideological struggle.

The book under review opens with a detailed article by USSR Academician M. B. Mitin, in which he reveals the structure and peculiarities of modern anticommunism. The author indicates that its political nucleus is anti-Sovietism. First and foremost included here are lies and slander against the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and the CPSU and the discrediting of the Soviet way of life and the economic, social-political and cultural achievements of our people.

The ideologues of modern anti-Sovietism are gambling on nationalism. Utilizing to this end the reactionary emigre groups from the USSR and other socialist countries is a very widespread method of imperialism. All the political activities of the Baltic republic emigres serve one purpose--to

discredit the Soviet regime in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. These activities conform to the global plans of international anticommunism--to weaken the USSR by distorting and compromising the nationality policy of the CPSU.

As the book indicates, the very process of emigration of a portion of the Baltic population in 1944-1945 to the West and the creation of anti-Soviet organizations were not spontaneous acts, as Western historians attempt to prove. In their retreat under the blows of the Soviet Army, the German occupiers with the active assistance of the Baltic bourgeois nationalists attempted to remove as many local inhabitants as possible from their native soil. As a result at the end of the war approximately 260 thousand so-called "displaced persons" from the Soviet Baltic republics remained in the FRG, Austria, Denmark, Belgium and Sweden. The Baltic "quislings" did everything possible to impede the repatriation of their fellow-countrymen.

Prior to the start of the 60's over 40,000 persons of Latvian descent had emigrated to the USA, about 6,000 to Great Britain, 18,000 to Canada, 25,000 to Austria, and so forth. After the main mass of these "displaced persons" had moved to the above-noted and other countries, the former Baltic bourgeois politicians began to set up united anticommunist organizations in these countries. For example, the "World Association of Free Latvians," which persistently endeavors to represent itself as the leading force of the Latvian emigration, was set up in 1955. The "Association for the Development of Baltic Studies" was organized in 1968 in the USA. The very same anti-communism, though in a toned-down and veiled form, as required by the doctrine of "bridge-building," and analogous concepts served as the basis for its "scientific" activities.

The main trends in the falsification of the history of the socialist development of the Baltic republics are analyzed in the book in great detail. Considerable attention is given to tracing the "research" of sovietologists on problems of economic development, social-political and nationality relations and religion.

Let us examine as an example the so-called problem of the sovereignty of the Baltic union republics--one of the main targets of anti-Soviet emigres. They raised quite a stir on this question in connection with the upcoming fortieth anniversary of the restoration of the Soviet regime in the Baltic republics. The issues first of all concern the thesis that there were no socialist revolutions in the Baltic states in 1940, and that Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia were "occupied" by Soviet troops. After this "occupation" the "annexation" or "incorporation" of the Baltic countries took place; i.e., they were forced to join the Soviet Union.

In fact, as the book indicates, the Latvian and Lithuanian Seyms and the Estonian Duma, expressing the will of their peoples, appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet to include these republics in the Soviet Union. That the representative organs really expressed the will of the majority of the

people is evidenced by the election results: 97.8, 99 and 92.82 percent of all Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian citizens, respectively, who voted, cast their ballots for candidates of the working people. Additional evidence of this is the support for adopted decisions indicated in mass political rallies, parades, meetings and in the press and on radio.

The book's authors emphasize that the sovereignty of the Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian SSR is evidenced first of all by the fact that they have their own constitutions approved by the people which give consideration to the national, economic, historical and other peculiarities of the republics, their own system of national organs, territory, citizenship, and so forth. The false statements of the emigres that in their opinion the "political influence of the Baltic republics in the Soviet Union is minimal and virtually insignificant" are refuted in the book by specific data on the active participation of Baltic republic deputies in the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Many Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian party and governmental officials take part in meetings and negotiations with the delegations of many of the world's countries as members of the USSR governmental delegations. They themselves often head delegations visiting socialist and capitalist states.

As is emphasized in the book, the sovereignty of the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian SSR is backed up by all the military might and by the foreign and domestic policy of the Soviet Union which aims to promote the flourishing of the economy and culture of all Soviet peoples and to safeguard their rights and interests, and also to promote freedom and independence from attacks on the part of the forces of reaction and imperialism."

Of topical interest is the book's final chapter "Reactionary Baltic Emigre Groups Against Detente," in which the seamy role of the bankrupt politicians related to the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and its decisions is revealed. The leaders of reactionary Baltic emigre groups initially indicated that the conference's results were detrimental to the peoples of the Soviet Baltic republics. "The Helsinki document is a defeat for the Latvian people and other Baltic peoples," categorically stated B. Kalnin', the leader of a handful of Latvian emigre social-democrats who have set themselves up in Sweden. Analogous statements were made by many emigre figures. They spoke against the section of the Final Act on the inviolability of European borders.

When the leaders of the reactionary Baltic emigration saw that open attacks on the Helsinki document were futile, they, making a complete turnabout, played the role of "protectors" of the Final Act, more precisely, began to support those anticommunist groups in Western countries, first of all in the USA, which are attempting to "prove" that the USSR is not complying with the accord. In following the example of their host nations, the emigre leaders stated that it is they who are the most uncompromising supporters of "human rights." However, such attempts by the enemies of socialism also

meet with failure. The reactionary Baltic emigre groups have become an absurd anachronism.

The rich factual material, high scientific-theoretical level and the thorough reasoning of its authors are an unquestional plus for the book. True, there are places where it would have been useful to include more current statistics, and sometimes the opposite is true--fewer figures would have sufficed. But these minor points do not detract from the book's value. What is important is that the readers, first of all, workers in the ideological sphere, have received an extremely valuable book which, we hope, will soon be published in Latvian as well and in time will be translated into foreign languages. This book is certainly deserving of this.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

PROBLEMS IN TBILISI WATER SUPPLY ANALYZED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 7 Feb 80 p 4

[Article by Vl. Mdivani under rubric "Problems of a Great City": "Is That a Water Supply System?!"]

[Text] The municipal operations of any population center have their own characteristics, and a city of one million citizens is no exception. Especially considering such a complex city as Tbilisi, with its mountainous terrain and other conditions.

Even without that, solving Tbilisi's municipal problems would be no easy task. Moreover, not too long ago the city's construction and planning were deplorably neglected. Because of the city father's complacency, the city's seemingly unshakeable high reputation gave rise to lackadaisical practices in city development, to indulgent attitudes toward shortcomings, the refusal to look at problems. In short, the situation deteriorated.

Only as a result of the CPSU CC's well-known 22 February 1972 decree concerning the Tbilisi Gorkom and under the leadership of the city's party organization were efforts undertaken to rectify the situation, to launch a community-wide battle against widespread negative phenomena. What are the characteristics of today's ideological and economic practice--the forms, techniques, and style of the work of the city's party, soviet, economic, and social organizations? Chiefly, resourcefulness and open criticism of shortcomings, the mapping out of the city's long-range development.

So why haven't these practices spread to the water supply system? Is water not important enough in life of the city to focus attention on it? Or can it be that the people have no complaints against that sphere of municipal services, things are being handled just fine? What in fact is the reason for the apathy shown by Tbilisi's builders and developers, and with them the local mass media, toward these urgent problems, which have remained unsolved for decades? There is probably no other large city in the country that is so poorly supplied with water! Yet not a word is said.

Why is no one speaking out about the fact that Tbilisi's citizens are suffering an acute water shortage? It is a totally intolerable negative phenomenon of the city's municipal operations. Why is it that we can never find out what steps are being taken to solve the problem, making it questionable whether we can ever hope to solve it? Why is it that the main task of the city planners, a crucial sector of city development--liquidating the chronic disruption of water supplies, requiring special mobilization of funds and resources--has never been accomplished? And, finally, why is no attention being focused on construction of the Zhinvali GES? When the project becomes operational, Tbilisi will get an extra 146 million cubic meters of water per year (including 73 million in the first phase), and every district in the city will be assured an adequate supply.

Zhinvali water was expected in 1977. Now the startup date for the power plant is scheduled for 1980. But it is highly doubtful they will make it because the Zhinvali project is not an object of much concern... apparently because of its small share in the republic's energy balance (130,000 kilowatts). But if this slackened attention toward it is to some extent justified in terms of energy criteria, the great importance this plant (with its reservoir holding 520 million cubic meters) has for Tbilisi's water supply system places it among the city's most vital projects. It is the need for water which makes the project so indispensable; the press and all the city's organizations ought to exercise unflagging control both over the construction work's progress and its completion deadlines. This is what we should be paying attention to in order to speed up the work in Zhinvali.

Why is this not being done? It can't be because the parched and thirsty city at the same time ranks high in the whole country in terms of per capita water consumption. Have we nothing to say about it?

In 1978 Tbilisi got 367.6 million cubic meters. Of this amount the Saguramo Complex (Natakhtari, Bulachauri, and so on) accounted for 294.3 million and Tbilisskoye More accounted for 66.5. The per capita daily water consumption by the population averaged 98 liters in 1955, 123 in 1960, 212 in 1965, 287 in 1970, 376 in 1975, and 439 in 1978. Yet according to Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's calculations, the average consumption norm should be 211 liters! Hence, Tbilisians are consuming more than double the norm. Willy-nilly, these figures make you want to toss in the towel.

Although these data are not subject to doubt, the actual picture is extremely discouraging. How can we tolerate it when no water comes to this big modern city for days on end, or else it runs for only a couple of hours a day, sometimes in the day and sometimes at night--that's how water is being "provided" even to central districts such as Plekhanov Prospekt and the streets nearby. Moreover, those suffering the worst from low water pressure are those living on hills and the upper floors of high-rise buildings. Even hospitals are afflicted. Among those suffering from erratic water supply, for example, are Hospital No 1 (the city's largest)

and Hospital No 7, as well as the upper floors of the Oncology Center. Can you imagine a hospital without water--the helplessness of the patients, difficulties with treatment and hygiene. Sometimes the lack of water forces the postponement of treatment procedures and even surgery.

These circumstances disrupt family life, make people irritable, and--strange as it may seem--often cause water waste and ruin the plumbing and fixtures. You ought to see it when the water does come on. Panic ensues as people collect it in all kinds of pots and even in bathtubs. To save water, families use less of it for hygienic purposes. When the water does come on, they get rid of the old supply down the drain--so that many thousands of cubic meters of pure water are wasted daily. And this excess consumption gives rise to lack of water--you have to stock up and then renew the old supply. Along with all this, the periodic drying up of the plumbing causes the pipes to rust and go out of commission along with the faucets and other fixtures. That's why the water shortage is so damaging, and why it is criminal to keep silent about it!

Why is it that water is so abundant yet the city can't get enough of it?

The officials of Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya (chief is Comrade V. Mumladze, chief engineer is Comrade V. Bakhtadze) find it convenient to blame everything on mass water leakage due to malfunctioning of faucets, valves, toilets, and other fixtures. Much water is lost in this way, to be sure. And it is high time that the gorispolkom took vigorous measures to put plumbing and fixtures in good working order. It is also true, however, that water can't leak if there isn't any, whatever the condition of the faucets. So why is it that in some districts the water comes on for only a couple of hours if that?

First of all, consider how Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya distributes the water. As mentioned above, Tbilisians consume an average of 439 liters daily, but Oktyabr'skiy Rayon's residents get only 216.5 liters--only half as much as Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon (434.5 liters), 2.5 times less than Leninskiy Rayon (526.3) and Kalinskiy Rayon (549), and 3.4 times less than Pervomayskiy (715.3). The supply of water to some districts is deplorably unequitable. In a "stepchild situation" similar to that of Oktyabr'skiy Rayon are 26 Commissars (301.4), Kirovskiy (340), and Zavodskiy (355.6) rayons. This is due both to shortcomings in the water mains and to the unsound policies of Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's personnel, who have knowingly provided water to certain rayons at the expense of others.

Without looking into the matter a man might question whether a person can possibly use more than 400 liters a day. Well, it appears he can. Authoritative commissions checked into the water consumption in several housing operations offices in Ordzhonikidzevskiy and Leninskiy Rayons. They installed new meters and fixtures, and the average daily water consumption in one of Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon's housing districts came to 836 liters

per capita; the figure was even higher in Leninskiy Rayon--1,270 liters (Housing Operations Office No 9 in the Temka Settlement). In Gldanskiy Rayon (Office No 13) consumption amounted to 1,009 liters.

In the south here, of course, especially in the summer, much water is consumed. And here we have a bone to pick with Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's officials, who insist that 211 liters is the norm for household needs even though the long-range water supply in our country calls for 400 to 500 liters. Isn't it clear that Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's attitude is outmoded?

This does not mean, of course, that we should give up the fight against senseless water consumption, such as when people turn on the faucet just to cool a bottle of Borzhomi mineral water or chill a watermelon, or just to keep a flow of cold water going. Isn't this why so many household citizens are having to go without?

This senseless waste of water is fostered by lack of monitoring. There are about 30,000 private houses in the city. They do not have water meters, and they pay the same no matter how much they use. According to Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's calculations, these houses consume about 21 million cubic meters per year. In fact, however, we should estimate that the figure is twice as high and that private houses are wasting about 22 million cubic meters that are unmetered. Evidently this is figured into the amount of loss which, according to Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's estimates, added up to the astronomical figure of 42.7 million cubic meters in 1978. Isn't this an example of shocking wastefulness on the part of private owners?

Furthermore, water conservation is hardly fostered by the water billing procedures established for state and departmental buildings. The housing operations offices pay Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya for the actual amounts shown on the meters, yet they make the residents pay in accordance with rates established by the per capita norm. So if you use as much as 1,000 liters a day, what do you care, the housing office will pay the bill (?!). Why try to save water?

In 1978, residents of the city's state and departmental housing used about 135 million cubic meters. For this they paid the cost of 60.3 million cubic meters; the other 74.7 million cubic meters were paid for by the housing offices from their own budgets. It is clear that the present billing system directly encourages the consumer to waste water.

What we need to do first is reinstate the old water billing procedures, in which each building was billed according to its own meter reading and the payment was shared among the residents. Even this half-hearted measure established a kind of direct link to the water-user's pocketbook. But in order to ensure that everyone conserves water, the only fair and effective

remedy is to install a meter in each apartment; this ought to make these water wasters a bit more thrifty.

How can we restore order in water metering and billing, when this great bit city only has 13,900 water meters and 3,000 of them were not working as of July 1979?

Of course, the measure discussed above is a difficult one, but there is no other way to rectify the matter.

Here's another example. The city used to be short of water. Instead of handling the task in a more perspicacious way, speeding up the delivery of Zhinvali water and laying out all the details of the Trialeti (Tsalskiy Rayon) water source problem--for the springs there could provide 190 million cubic meters of fine water per year--Tbilisvodkanalizatsiya's officials misled the city's authorities with palliative measures and gave them erroneous information about the water supply. One such palliative was the shifting of attention away from the need to speed up the Zhinvali project and the installation of a temporary pump at Tbilisskoye More. Every year they pumped about 70 million cubic meters to supply the city. It is intolerable that they allowed things to get to the point where it was necessary to install temporary facilities to get around the problem, thus postponing a complete and final solution.

It is not just the water supply that has suffered. Tbilisskoye More, which is intended to irrigate the Samgori Plain and is beneficial to the city, having a favorable influence on the climate and serving as one of Tbilisians' favorite recreation spots, has also suffered. Its capacity of 310 million cubic meters was intended solely for irrigation. Naturally, when 70 million cubic meters are removed each year the water balance is disrupted, the reservoir has shrunk. What kind of environmental protection is that?

To sum it up, what we need is to take better care of the environment and straighten out matters. Tbilisskoy More must be relieved of its excess "workload." We will have to supply the city with more water and rectify the consumption situation. To put it another way, we can consider the situation normal only when you can turn on a faucet day or night and water comes out.

The water supply problem has become an acute one for Georgia's beautiful capital city. We consider this to be a big error on the part of the city's planners, one which cannot be allowed to go on. Everyone will have to understand this.

REGIONAL

USSR TRANSPORT CONSTRUCTION MINISTER TOURS GEORGIA

LD141339 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 3 Mar 80 p 1

[GruzINFORM report: "Maximum Attention To Transport Construction"]

[Text] I. D. Sosnov, USSR minister of transport construction, was in Georgia for several days.

Comrade I. D. Sosnov visited the construction of the Marabda-Akhalkalaki railroad line and the new Gldani-Varketeli subway line in Tbilisi and also visited the Tbilisi electric locomotive construction plant, where a large amount of modernization work is being conducted at present.

The USSR minister of transport construction talked with workers, engineering and technical staff and leaders of the enterprises.

An enlarged meeting of workers in the sector was held and which was addressed by Comrade I. D. Sosnov.

Comrade I. D. Sosnov gave a high appraisal of the work of Zaktransstroy, Tbiltonnelstroy and Transcaucasus railroad collectives, directed toward further developing the republic's transport construction. Great attention was devoted to the construction of the Rikotskiy and Rokskiy tunnels which are of great significance for the development of the republic's national economy. At the same time individual shortcomings were noted, instructions were given for their speediest elimination and the tasks essential to the unconditional fulfillment of the 10th 5-year plan were defined.

Comrade I. D. Sosnov met with E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, and G. V. Kolbin, second secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee.

Accompanying Comrade I. D. Sosnov on his tour of the republic were Z. A. Pataridze, chairman of the Georgian Council of Ministers; T. N. Menteshashvili, first secretary of Tbilisi party gorkom; G. D. Gabuniya, chairman of Tbilisi gorispolkom; and also V. D. Gotsiridze, chief of the Tbiltonnelstroy administration; L. G. Vardosanidze, chief of the Transcaucasus railroad; and A. N. Saganelidze, administrator of the Zaktransstroy trust.

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN PLANNING OFFICIAL URGES FARM WAGE RECTIFICATION

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 18 Dec 79 p 2

[Article by GSSR Planning Committee Deputy Chairman A. Kiknavelidze under rubric "Program of Development of the GSSR's Agriculture": "Recompense for Labor. The Force of Farm Workers' Material Motivation is Considerable. How Well Are We Using It?"]

[Summary] The task of doubling and tripling crop and livestock output in Georgia, in response to the party's and government's decree that is of such historic importance to Georgia, cannot be accomplished merely by increasing crop areas and stock herds. Productivity must be increased, and a big factor here is the farm workers' material motivation. This is still a big problem in Georgia and throughout the country.

In 1946-1950, raysoviet ispolkoms would not approve annual reports of kolkhozes which allocated less than half of their earnings to pay the kolkhoz members. This was based on the principle that kolkhoz production costs should not exceed 26 percent, and total farm costs should not exceed 8 percent, of income. Fifteen percent was to go into unallocated and other funds. Thus, not less than 50 percent of the income and crops was supposed to go to pay the members. Some kolkhozes have complied with this regulation unconditionally to this day.

But after socially-owned farms were given the right to decide wages themselves, many no longer cared about the wage-earners and took to distributing income unequally. In some cases, wages were kept extremely low for years on end. The damage this did can be seen in the fact that from 1953 through 1957, tea plantations picked no more than 107,000 to 108,000 tons of leaf annually. After the republic's party and government decreed bonuses for each kg of top- and second-grade leaf, pickers harvested 133,000 tons in 1958 and 171,000 in 1962. Wages were increased again in 1966, and prices were increased 50 percent in 1972. Now, tea plantation kolkhozniks and workers are getting at least 60 percent of the value of their output, and some are getting as much as 83 percent. The wage situation has pretty much been rectified in citrus, tobacco and beet farming as well.

The same cannot be said of grape, fruit, vegetable, livestock and crop farming. On Meore Sviri's leading grape kolkhoz (Zestafonskiy Rayon), Zh. Tutarashvili tends 0.7 hectares. She was supposed to work 70 man-days and get eight tons of grapes. But in fact she worked 145 days and only got 10 tons. The state paid the farm 4,242 rubles for this amount, but she got only 1,121 rubles--26 percent of the value of her output. Others there got as little as 23 percent. The same intolerable situation prevails in other rayons as well.

Fruit, vegetable, livestock and crop farms have it even worse: They are getting no more than 10 to 15 percent.

What do the kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors think they're doing? And where are the rayon officials?

A few years ago, certain officials demanded that parent organs draw up a legal document empowering them to apply at least 50 percent of the worth of production output to wages. But there is in fact nothing to prevent this. KOMUNISTI published a GCP CC and GSSR Council of Ministers decree on 8 May 1977 conferring just that right. Then some of these officials looked for other excuses. Probably many of them didn't read the decree or even know about it; at least they didn't tell the workers. Other officials, however, have maintained to this day that if they paid out 50 percent, the kolkhoz who have nothing--as if the chairman, crew leaders, bookkeepers and warehouse managers counted and the workers didn't. They don't seem to understand that by complying with the decree they could double or triple productivity.

Some officials blame planning. Yet Khobskiy Rayon has been increasing its production and procurement plans every year without hampering proper wage payment and material incentive efforts. The decree clearly states that even in the event of failure to meet crop yield and productivity plans (assuming the kolkhoz is not to blame), 50 percent of the actual income is to be paid out. So why isn't the decree being complied with?

Frankly, some officials are simply not capable of utilizing this factor to boost workers' material motivation and double or triple their output. Some are quite capable but don't care to; they're doing all right now. It's high time the party and soviet organs took them in hand. Still others really need help; they need to be taught how to utilize wage procedures properly. These procedures should be approved at general farm meetings and by the raysoviet ispolkom and the Minister of Agriculture, to give them the force of law, and auditors must not be allowed to "feather their nests."

This is the only way to cope with the tasks set forth in the new CPSU CC and USSR Council of Ministers decree, as discussed at the republic party-economic aktiv.

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION ON ACCOUNTING

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 5 Mar 80 p 1

[Gruzinform report: "Perfect the Organization of Accounting"]

[Text] "The organization of accounting in the republic's national economy and ways to enhance its role in making rational and economical use of material, labor, and financial resources"--this was the theme of a conference-seminar held in the GCP CC.

The conference-seminar was participated in by officials and chief accountants of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations of the republic, members of the Methodology Council for Accounting and Reporting under the GSSR Ministry of Finance, personnel of the Scientific-Training Association of Accounting, Control, and Economic Analysis, and accounting specialists.

The opening report was delivered by GSSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman N. A. Chitanava, and the coreport was delivered by GSSR Deputy Finance Minister V. S. Zurabishvili.

Taking part in the discussions were chief accountants of GSSR Ministry of Construction's Tbilgorstroy Association V. R. Shushanov, Tbilisi's Isani Footwear Production Association N. Ye. Chkhartishvili, Tbilisi Ordzhonikidzevskiy Rayon Soviet of People's Deputies Education Division Central Accounting Office V. K. Tsitaishvili, and GSSR Ministry of Light Industry N. G. Arakhmiya, accounting service veteran D. I. Puradashvili, and Tbilisi State University Docents G. A. Bigvava and G. N. Gurgenidze.

The participants noted that a number of measures have been implemented in recent years in the republic's economy to perfect accounting practices. Methodology and organization have been improved, greater effectiveness has been achieved, more extensive use is being made of machine accounting and automation, and central accounting offices have been set up.

Nevertheless, the conference-seminar noted, certain ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations are not paying enough attention to problems of improving the organization of accounting and control to ensure the proper utilization of material and financial resources; not enough effort has been made in stepping up the campaign against mismanagement, waste, and the spending of state and social funds for other than designated purposes.

Participants noted that accounting and financial personnel must keep up with the rising demands of our economy, keep close watch over each ruble, and ensure smooth functioning of the entire economic mechanism. They must also strive constantly to ensure economical utilization of material, labor, and financial resources; they must take active part in collecting the necessary information concerning the course of plan fulfillment and causes of deviations from planned targets, normatives, and estimates.

The results of the conference-seminar were summarized by GCP CC Secretary Z. A. Chkheidze.

The conference-seminar was participated in by N. V. Santeladze, head of the Division of Planning and Financial Organs of the GCP CC.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

EMPLOYMENT OF GEORGIAN KOLKHOZ WORKERS IN PUBLIC SECTOR LOWEST IN COUNTRY

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 6 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences I. Badrishvili: "Employment Will Rise. Reserves of Intensifying Agriculture"]

[Text] The 17th (1979) GCP CC Plenum pointed out that it is vitally important to activate efforts everywhere with regard to the rational use of the republic's greatest source of wealth--its labor resources. The fact is that our labor resources are not distributed uniformly by cities, rayons, and autonomous units. Some regions have a shortage of manpower, whereas others--especially the mountain rayons Khuloyskiy, Kedskiy, Akhalkalakskiy, Aspindzskiy, and Leningorskiy--have a labor surplus. This accounts, therefore, for the vital importance we attach to the problem of making rational use of labor resources.

Consider the following fact. In terms of the level of employment of kolkhozniks in the social sector and the number of man-days worked per member, our republic occupies one of the last places in the country. According to the annual reports for 1978, each able-bodied kolkhoznik worked 173 man-days on the kolkhozes of Khashurskiy Rayon, 165 in Kaspiskiy Rayon, 138 in Karel'skiy, 146 in Kvarel'skiy, 149 in Tsulukidzevskiy, and 161 in Goriyskiy. On some farms in those rayons this indicator was even lower. So on some kolkhozes each able-bodied person is working an average of three or four months per year. The rest of the time he works on his private plot and around the house or takes seasonal jobs in other sectors of the economy.

The seasonality of farm work, due among other things to the lack of the proper organization of labor, leads to substantial losses of work time on the republic's kolkhozes. Here are a few figures. Work time losses in this republic constitute 35 to 37 percent of total labor outlays, whereas throughout the country as a whole the figure is 24 to 26 percent. In 1978, for example, figures on the number of able-bodied kolkhoz

members who were permanently employed in industry and in the inter-kolkhoz associations or who were full-time nonworking students were as follows: 2,600 in Khashurskiy Rayon, 1,045 in Kaspakiy, 4,485 in Goriyskiy, and 2,588 in Karel'skiy rayons.

Experience suggests that locating kolkhozes near cities or rayon centers where industry is relatively well developed promotes stepped-up migration from the villages to the city. In this regard it is sufficient to recall the kolkhozes of the village of Osiauri and the settlement of Surami, located near the rayon center of Khashuri. Only 39 and 18 percent of the total number of able-bodied kolkhozniks, respectively, were working on those farms.

It is clear that a large percentage of the able-bodied population living on kolkhozes is engaged in seasonal employment in industry. Although some of these personnel are enrolled on the kolkhoz, the number of man-days they work is very low (averaging 35 to 70). Another portion of the kolkhozniks, moreover, take no part in the affairs of the farm. Yet at the same time they enjoy all the rights stipulated in the Model Kolkhoz Charter.

In order to alleviate seasonality and make more uniform use of labor resources in the countryside throughout the year, it is essential to improve the organization of labor and also focus more attention on the creation of subsidiary enterprises and operations on the farms. It is necessary to take account of specific natural and economic conditions in each region.

The underemployment of kolkhozniks in the social sector is due to high labor outlays in private plot farming, which must be considered as outlays in social farming. After all, kolkhozniks' and workers' private plots are directly linked to social production. And this link, as experience suggests, is becoming stronger. It is sufficient to note that of the total agricultural output turned over to the state in the first 11 months of 1979, workers' private plots accounted for 61.2 percent of the fruit, 39.3 percent of the grapes, 13.8 percent of the vegetables, and 40.5 percent of the meat.

These figures indicate that private plot farming constitutes a large reserve for increasing the republic's commercial land cultivation and livestock output.

At the same time, the kolkhozes must focus more attention on measures regulating wages. Material incentive exerts an unquestionable positive effect on the development of social production, while low incentive levels lead to intensification of private plot farming. On their own farm plots, people strive to raise high-income crops involving large outlays of labor at the expense of social production.

The stimulative role of material motivation is increased when it is used in conjunction with moral motivation and tied in more closely with the conditions and results of socialist competition.

Scientific organization of labor and on-farm cost-accounting are essential conditions for the development and adoption of a precise system of material incentive. As was emphasized at the 17th GCP CC Plenum, we are not yet making adequate use of such powerful levers as material and moral incentive, and when it comes to wages, one of the main components of material motivation, our situation in this regard leaves much to be desired.

Wages are especially low in the mountain rayons and on the economically weak kolkhozes. These farms must seek out additional ways to boost total production output in order to raise kolkhozniks' wages.

To make more effective use of labor resources it is vitally important to improve cultural and living conditions in the villages. The presence of the necessary number of consumer service combines, kindergartens and nurseries, and so on, will make additional manpower available for our national economy and get more women working, for many women want to work in various spheres of production.

The problem of improving the utilization of labor resources is a vital one. For this reason, kolkhoz and village soviet officials must work diligently and consistently to find the best solution.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

PENTECOSTAL ACTIVITIES IN GEORGIA DEPLORED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 7 Feb 80 pp 2-3

[Article by Docent D. Gegeshidze, candidate of philosophy, under rubric "On an Atheistic Theme": "Fanatical and Exclusive. Who the Pentecostals Are and What Damage They Do"]

[Text] Readers Z. Maisuradze, N. Ukleba, G. Dvali, and others have asked us to explain the essence of the doctrines of the Pentecostal sect and the damage their activities do to some Soviet citizens.

There are a number of what are known as world religions--Christianity, Buddhism, Islam. World religions have never been unitary. Depending on the particular social and political environment, various currents have developed in each religion. A great variety of such currents is observed in Buddhism, Islam, and the national religion Judaism.

Christianity is represented in two fundamental branches--Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox. The breakdown of the feudal system resulted in the rise of Protestantism (Lutheranism, Calvinism, and others). In the course of substantial upheavels in subsequent world history, new groups appeared in the Christian religion; they are known as sects.

Associations of religious believers that have broken away from the dominant Catholic and Orthodox churches are called sects of the Christian religion.

One of the most widespread Christian sects in the world is the Pentecostal. Its first congregation was formed in 1907 in Los Angeles, U.S.A. Gradually the Pentecostal movement spread around the world. Its doctrines were used successfully by the exploiters to blunt the reason of the popular masses and to carry out colonial policies.

During world War II the Pentecostals managed to revitalize and consolidate their activities. Their leaders had the opportunity to drag more and more people into their ranks (in the same period the sect also extended its influence into our country's territory).

Like most sects, the Pentecostals are obliged to "revise" the teachings and preachings of the old religions in order to bring worship services into line with the times. Rituals are generally held in ordinary prayer rooms, and services are conducted by a man in civil dress, who is known as the presbyter. It is true that the Pentecostals reject a number of religious holidays and customs, but any religion would be inconceivable without such things. For this sect the main religious holiday is the "Trinity," the "Descent of the Holy Ghost."

According to their belief, through lengthy prayer the "Holy Ghost" may appear to them on the fiftieth day after Easter as it did to the apostles. That is the origin of their name. In this sect, praying can go on for hours. Members keep repeating the same thing over and over. They weep, moan, and rave; some of them even grovel on the floor or beat their heads against the wall. Human reason is impaired, and they see visions.

The Pentecostals' main ritual is "Breaking of the Bread," which is in fact a modified variety of the Christian Eucharist. Prior to the rite, the presbyter bathes a member's feet in a trough; the member in turn does the same for another member, and so on. This bathing of one another's feet is considered "an affirmation of brotherhood." Then the "Breaking of the Bread" begins, including drinking water from the same vessel, a practice which sometimes causes the massive spread of diseases.

The Pentecostals are a fanatic, mystical, exclusive sect. Their leaders--presbyters and active members--manage to get members to stay away from movies, the theater, and cultural and educational institutions.

Pentecostals take no part in the activities of social organizations and refuse to join the Komsomol.

"If we put on the red tie, we will be burned in fire," declare Pentecostal schoolchildren.

During debate, sect leaders often point out that members do not refuse to engage in work and that they perform their work conscientiously and productively. But a Pentecostal is only thinking about the economic benefits of his job, he cares nothing for the interests of the collective, takes no part in socialist competition, and so on.

The unacceptability of the Pentecostals' preaching is indicated by their doctrines concerning "prophecy." As they explain it, feverish praying brings about the "Descent of the Holy Ghost," by which the fanatical Pentecostal makes contact with the supernatural and can prophecy what will happen to him.

It can be proved, of course, that the illusion of "making contact" with the supernatural is nothing but hallucination, and no Pentecostals are capable of "prophecy."

The Pentecostals talk a lot about the democratism of their teachings, their genuinely "true Christian" character. In particular, they consider it to be a virtue that they do not worship priests and crucifixes and that they reject hackneyed old rituals. They say nothing about the fact that this "democratism" and "liberalism" constitute an attempt to rescue religion from its crisis, and that in reality this sophisticated and refined religion aims at strengthening its influence over people by means of new forms and techniques. It is for this purpose that members of the sect are obliged to "enlist" new members. The way this is done is that individual conferences are held, which sometimes achieve their goal.

Very damaging is the Pentecostals' requirement that the head of the family is obliged to make pre-school and school-age children "accept" the rituals of the sect. Thus, the Pentecostals raise their children from infancy in erroneous ideas that are alien to our social community.

The antisocial character of the Pentecostal sect is attested by the accounts of former members.

"Membership in the sect killed in me my priceless human warmth, human motivation. The days I spent in the sect are not only lost days but a terrible memory," declares former Pentecostal member I. Gamrekeli.

Pentecostal congregations are active in many of our republic's cities. The leaders and their active members have managed to "drag" a number of people into the sect. When we investigate the reasons for this "enlistment" we zero in on the following circumstance: The negative phenomena that pervaded our republic in recent years were characteristically reflected in people's consciousness. At a time when certain people had influential friends and were able to get any post they wanted, to acquire all the good things of life, this caused other people to reappraise moral values and the criteria of value, which ultimately fostered the notion that it was impossible to rectify the situation--people's faith in the future was dashed. Moreover, at a time when a man was rated primarily by his economic status and no importance was attached to his human attributes--honesty, humility, education, and

so on--the leaders of religious associations, including the active Pentecostal sect members, gained the opportunity to revive their activities to some extent.

From conversations with sect members it is clear that most of them fell under the sect's influence due to the active efforts of the presbyters during a time of temporary difficulties in their life.

It is an indisputable fact that the changing psychological climate in the republic these days is cutting the ground out from under the leaders of religious organizations, who are trying to revitalize their activities. A guarantee of this is the fact that the republic's party, soviet, and Komsomol organizations have abundant experience in the struggle against this sect. More than one young person has been steered back to the right track through correctly and purposefully conducted efforts. Nevertheless, some people (not many, to be sure, but quite a few) are still under the destructive influence of this sect. The sect's "fishers of souls" are still doing their "missionary work" right alongside us.

Our social community must take decisive measures to undermine the activities of the Pentecostals in every way.

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CSO: 1810

REGIONAL

OFFICIAL LAXITY LEADS TO FERTILIZER THEFTS

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 8 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Dzh. Kurkhuli under rubric "Stinging Lines": "A Thousand Sins Foster Wicked Deeds"]

[Text] The people have a saying: The thief commits one sin, the loser a thousand. If we go by this proverb, the greatest sin was committed by the one who allowed the wicked deed to happen.

This triangle--thief, loser, and promoter--tells the story: according to his trip ticket, driver Tavtikh Khalilov of Gruzsel'khimiya's Marneuli Interrayon Association was supposed to haul a load of nitrogen fertilizer to Megobroba Sovkhoz in Marneul'skiy Rayon. But he arbitrarily changed his route and took the load to the village of Kolagiri in Bolnisskiy Rayon. Officers of the Bolnisskiy Rayon MVD caught the driver just as he was offering to sell the stolen nitrogen fertilizer to some outside persons. They turned about four tons of the nitrogen fertilizer over to Bolnisskiy Rayon's Arukhlo Sovkhoz, and T. Khalilov's fine is being looked into by the authorities.

Once the "cat was out of the bag," it turned out that labor discipline is generally lax in Gruzsel'khimiya's Marneuli Interrayon Association, and responsible officials have failed to grasp their rights and duties. Other shortcomings were found in the work of the association. But the worst thing was that the drivers were doing as they pleased. One check revealed that 41 drivers (?) had arbitrarily changed their routes. This of course indicates that certain people have been misappropriating state property and getting away with it.

The incident in Marneuli was discussed in Gruzsel'khimiya's republic association. For laxity in driver indoctrination, manager R. Chochua and deputy manager G. Mamedov were severely reprimanded; the manager was placed under obligation, and he discussed the incident at a general meeting of the workers and employees.

Everyone spoke about the incident with great regret. The guilty persons were severely punished. Mineral fertilizer warehouse manager

L. Novruzov, motor pool operations chief N. Magdaliasov, and dispatcher V. Kirsanov were dismissed from their jobs. And this, one might suppose, would be the end of our story. The thief has been taken to court, the losers have been punished, but when we looked into the crime a third question came bobbing up--a more serious, graver crime and, unfortunately, no one has said anything about it.

The fact is that Gruzsel'khimiya's Marneuli Interrayon Association was created on 2 January of this year as a necessary and essential organization having a great future and good prospects. A total of 120 Marneuli Sel'khoztekhnika trucks were turned over to it. All of the vehicles were assigned their own drivers. And the crime we are talking about took place just two weeks after the organization was formed--on 16 January.

We looked into driver T. Khalilov's file and were not at all surprised to find that he had committed thefts.

T. Khalilov started working as a driver for Marneuli Sel'khoztekhnika in 1974. He was reprimanded three or four times in his first year, and the same thing happened in following years. This willful driver was always late returning to the motor pool and dealt with his trip tickets in a high-handed manner. We must assume that the man was on the wrong path even then. The laxity of the officials of the organization where he worked is simply astonishing. Neither did the party organization show the necessary vigilance toward its member. In 1977 T. Khalilov had his driver's license taken away for one year. In 1978 he was rehired.

This arrogant driver's list of crimes is rather long, but one curious item will suffice. On 11 August 1976, T. Khalilov was reprimanded for poor performance, yet two days later, on 13 August, he was given a cash bonus for good work (?).

Now, manager R. Chochua of Gruzsel'khimiya's Marneuli Interrayon Association has his drivers' personal files before him and is attempting to cleanse the collective of suspicious persons, and this is a good thing.

But why couldn't the personal files of T. Khalilov and his buddies have been studied earlier in the Marneuli Sel'khoztekhnika, where they had been working for some years and, one would assume, they were better known.

The thief has been taken to court, the loser has been punished, and now it's the turn of those who allowed these wicked deeds to take place. Let's see what the officials of the Marneuli Department of Sel'khoztekhnika have to say.

SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

USSR SERIAL REPORTS (GENERAL)

USSR REPORT: Agriculture
USSR REPORT: Economic Affairs
USSR REPORT: Construction and Equipment
USSR REPORT: Military Affairs
USSR REPORT: Political and Sociological Affairs
USSR REPORT: Energy
USSR REPORT: International Economic Relations
USSR REPORT: Consumer Goods and Domestic Trade
USSR REPORT: Human Resources
USSR REPORT: Transportation
USSR REPORT: Translations from KOMMUNIST*
USSR REPORT: PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST*
USSR REPORT: SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES*
USSR REPORT: USA: ECONOMICS, POLITICS, IDEOLOGY*

USSR SERIAL REPORTS (SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL)

USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Biomedical and Behavioral Sciences
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Effects of Nonionizing Electromagnetic Radiation
USSR REPORT: Life Sciences: Agrotechnology and Food Resources
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USSR REPORT: Physics and Mathematics
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